

Food in Ancient Judah

Domestic Cooking in the
Time of the Hebrew Bible

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

Food in Ancient Judah

Domestic Cooking in the
Time of the Hebrew Bible

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott



Food in Ancient Judah

Domestic Cooking in the
Time of the Hebrew Bible

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott



Food in Ancient Judah

Bible World

Series Editors: Philip R. Davies and James G. Crossley, University of Sheffield

BibleWorld Shares the fruits of modern (and postmodern) biblical scholarship not only among practitioners and students, but also with anyone interested in what academic study of the Bible means in the twenty-first century. It explores our ever-increasing knowledge and understanding of the social world that produced the biblical texts, but also analyses aspects of the Bible's role in the history of our civilization and the many perspectives—not just religious and theological, but also cultural, political and aesthetic—which drive modern biblical scholarship.

Food in Ancient Judah

Domestic Cooking in the Time of the Hebrew Bible

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott

 **Routledge**
Taylor & Francis Group
LONDON AND NEW YORK

First Published 2013 by Equinox Publishing Ltd, an imprint of Acumen

Published 2014 by Routledge

2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN

711 Third Avenue, New York, NY 10017, USA

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor and Francis Group, an informa business

© Cynthia Shafer-Elliott 2013

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Notices

Practitioners and researchers must always rely on their own experience and knowledge in evaluating and using any information, methods, compounds, or experiments described herein. In using such information or methods they should be mindful of their own safety and the safety of others, including parties for whom they have a professional responsibility.

To the fullest extent of the law, neither the Publisher nor the authors, contributors, or editors, assume any liability for any injury and/or damage to persons or property as a matter of products liability, negligence or otherwise, or from any use or operation of any methods, products, instructions, or ideas contained in the material herein.

ISBN: 978-1-908049-73-5 (hardcover)

British Library Cataloguing-in-Publication Data

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Shafer-Elliott, Cynthia, 1975–

Food in ancient Judah : domestic cooking in the time of the Hebrew Bible / Cynthia Shafer-Elliott.

p. cm.—(BibleWorld)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-908049-73-5 (hardcover)

1. Food in the Bible. 2. Food—Religious aspects—Judaism. 3. Jews—Dietary laws. 4. Bible. O.T.—Criticism, interpretation, etc. I. Title.

BS680.F6S53 2012

221.8'6413—dc23

2012021684

Typeset by S.J.I. Services, New Delhi

For Rob

The house where beer is never lacking: she is there!

The house rich in soup: that is her place!

The house where bread is in abundance: she is the one who cooks it!

– Mesopotamian proverb
2nd millennium BCE

CONTENTS

Preface

Abbreviations

Introduction

1

The ancient household and its food

2

Settlement classification in Iron Age Judah

3

A spatial analysis of Iron II Judahite settlements

4

Broader perspectives: art, literature, and ethnography

5

Home cooking in the Hebrew Bible

6

Conclusion: mixing the ingredients together

Notes

Bibliography

Index of ancient references

Index of authors

Index of subjects

PREFACE

Academics are always asking each other what the other is currently working on. Like any good researcher, I attempt to answer that question as simply and concisely as possible, not because those who ask it are unwilling to listen or are unable to understand but more out of sympathy for the inquirer. In fact, I was told early on that a researcher should be able to reduce their topic to one or two phrases at most and that this is a sign of true scholarship. Well, I am not sure of that, but out of consideration for others I did attempt to answer as concisely as possible. Lucky for me, I could break my subject down even into one word – food. This often got the attention of the inquirer and prompted follow-up questions including, “Why food?” The answer to this question has many layers: (1) I have an interest in the daily lives of ancient Judahites and Israelites, both textually and archaeologically; (2) I have found there to be a deficit in this area of research; and (3) I am an admitted foodie.

But it is a fourth reason, which I believe is connected to the third one, that has stimulated my thinking further. I was fortunate enough to grow up in a home that placed a high value on quality family time and the expectation that all members be present at, and participate in, the evening meal. Yes, we were one of those families that ate dinner together every night sitting around the kitchen table. As a child and teenager I did not know how rare that was, even then. As my siblings and I grew, the expectation and careful preparation of the meal was more of a delight than a family requirement. The presence of food acted as a catalyst for conversation and familial bonding. One of the many results of these meals is that we all enjoy preparing food in one way or another; this is how I became a “foodie”, which then consciously or subconsciously influenced my choice of which element of daily life in ancient Judah to study.

This monograph is my PhD research and, of course, none of the original research and subsequent publication would be possible without the generous help and support of others. My gratitude to my PhD advisor, Dr Diana Edelman, is enormous. Her guidance and expertise has been immeasurable. I

will be forever grateful. Thank you to Dr Hugh Pyper (University of Sheffield) and Dr Karen Wright (University College London) for their roles on my viva committee. Their time and suggestions are greatly appreciated. The staff, faculty, and students of the Biblical Studies department at the University of Sheffield have been a source of inspiration and support. My deepest thanks to the brothers at the *École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem* for providing me with a space to research; to ArieH Rochman-Halperin and Yoav Tzionit at the Israeli Antiquities Department in Jerusalem, who granted me access to, and helped me with, the reports in the excavation archives; and to Shira and Sidney Shapiro, who are my translating gurus. Many thanks to the numerous scholars who helped me locate information, articles, and forwarded me forthcoming pieces of their work: Jimmy Hardin, Avraham Faust, Paul Halstead, Philippe Guillaume, Alexander Zuckerman, Aren Maeir and the Tel es-Safi team; Ami Mazar, Nava Panitz-Cohen, and the Tel Rehov team; Keith Whitelam, Bradly Parker, Nathan MacDonald and the Hebrew Bible Food Group, Oded Borrowski, Paul Jacobs, Adrien Bledstein, Bob Mullins, Lydia Evdoxiadi, and Rosie Gillott (my apologies if I neglected anyone!). My sincere thanks to the scholars, archaeologists, and publishers who granted me copyright permissions: Joe Seger and the Lahav Research Project, the Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University, the Israel Antiquities Authority, Jon Seligman, and Gershon Edelstein. Many thanks to Riley Armstrong and Chris Quandt for their technological help. A very big thank you to Philip Davies, Valerie Hall, Tristan Palmer, and the team at Equinox for the opportunity to publish this research and the patience and careful expertise in which you guided me. With that said, any remaining errors are my responsibility alone.

Besides those who helped me professionally, there are those who supported me personally. My thanks to: Dr Glenn Schaefer at Simpson University who helped light the fire; Dr Ken Walther and Ashland Theological Seminary for their quality education and confidence; Dr Kathryn Hanley, CSJ, and Damian Cushing, CSJ, for their continuous encouragement; Dr Jeff Marlett at the College of Saint Rose for his advisement; St John's parish and our friends in Chapeltown, England, for your hospitality and support. Thank you to William Jessup University for helping in the transition back to the USA. To my parents and family: your love, encouragement, support, flights home, and Skype conversations to the daughter and sister you never dreamed would take on such a task have sustained me. And finally to my husband, Rob, you have supported me in every possible way and believed in me when I didn't even believe in myself. This is just as much yours as it is mine.

Cynthia Shafer-Elliott

ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ANET</i>	<i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.</i> Edited by J.B. Pritchard. Princeton, 1969
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BDB</i>	Brown, F., S.R. Driver, and C.A. Briggs. <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament.</i> Oxford, 1907
<i>ESI</i>	Excavations and Surveys in Israel
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JAAR</i>	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>NEA</i>	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
<i>NEAEHL</i>	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.</i> Edited by E. Stern. 5 vols. Jerusalem, 1993
<i>PEQ</i>	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
<i>SBL</i>	Society of Biblical Literature
<i>TA</i>	<i>Tel Aviv</i>

INTRODUCTION

The subject of food has taken a central role on the cultural stage. Today there are numerous television shows dedicated to various types of cooking, even with celebrity chefs, not to mention entire channels dedicated to the cooking of food. Celebrity chefs range from the formal (think Martha Stewart in the USA and Delia Smith in the UK) to the informal (think Rachel Ray in the USA and Nigella Lawson in the UK). Many of the more adventurous travel the world to try new, exotic, even strange dishes (think Jamie Oliver and Anthony Bourdain). With the waistbands of the average Western citizen and the speed at which we consume food on the rise, inquiry about food has shifted to reclaiming our diets from cheap, processed fast food to what is naturally good for us and for the environment (e.g. *Food Inc.*, *Fast Food Nation*, and The Slow Food Movement).

More academically, food has been the topic of much research in various fields: feasting in elite contexts in numerous subfields of archaeology and anthropology; baking in ethnographical studies; taboo foods; foods in cultic contexts – the list is quite long. However, the inclusion of food outside the realm of kosher dietary laws and the sacrificial system in biblical studies has been lacking. Studies of numerous aspects of daily life have been made (e.g. weaving, the making of wine) but, for some reason, the preparation of food in domestic contexts (home cooking) has been overlooked. It is my hope to help remedy the situation.

Topic of inquiry

The overall aim of this research is to determine if archaeological remains and ancient Near Eastern sources can help to illuminate the domestic gastronomical daily life of ancient Judahites during the mid- to late Iron Age II (900–586 BCE) as it is exemplified in the narratives of the Hebrew Bible. The progress in archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, and ancient Near Eastern texts will help biblical studies move forward in the study of daily life. This

study will benefit from the interdisciplinary nature of scholarship today. In order to learn more about daily life, attention needs to be drawn away from the places of prestige (palace, temple, and battlefield) to the stage of everyday events and activities – the home.

Regarding Iron Age terminology, the subphases of this period have been designated as the Iron IIB (900–700 BCE) and the Iron IIC (700–586 BCE) periods. The Iron IIB period is traditionally seen as the era of the divided kingdoms of Israel and Judah, which only transitioned into the Iron IIC period when the Assyrian Empire destroyed and deported the northern kingdom of Israel (ca. 722/721 BCE) and laid waste to the vassal kingdom of Judah (ca. 701 BCE).

Originally, I intended to answer the question at hand by addressing an archaeological issue: Are there any differences in food-preparation techniques in Judah between the late Iron Age and the Persian period? My focus on Judah and the two specific time periods was dictated by current understanding of the provenance of the Hebrew Bible and the likely times of composition or redaction for most of its books. Unfortunately, answering this research question has been next to impossible due to the severe lack of excavated, let alone published, domestic structures from sites in Judah during the Persian period. This is an enormous deficit within the archaeology of the southern Levant and should be remedied in order to understand Persian Yehud more fully.

Consequently, the original archaeological question has been modified and asks, Are there differences in domestic food-preparation techniques in urban and rural environments in mid- to late Iron II Judah? I am maintaining my focus on Judah as the likely source of composition for most of the texts in the Hebrew Bible, but have been forced to abandon the Persian period due to the unavailability of relevant excavated data. This forces me to admit that some of the texts I will examine may reflect the reality of domestic food preparation in Yehud in the Persian period rather than in Judah in the Iron II period. Thus, it is possible that my two sets of data will not be contemporaneous. However, the dating of the initial composition of a given biblical book is inconclusive in most instances and circular, in that internal details are used but often the book itself is a primary source for understanding a specific historical period, rightly or wrongly. It is hard to separate later editorial additions from original text as well. Therefore, on the one hand, I will assume that the text can reflect Iron Age practices, but on the other hand, will do so cautiously. I think O. Borowski sums the issue up nicely when he writes about the reliability of daily life reflected in the Hebrew Bible: “My assumption is that biblical traditions, no matter which period they describe, could not have survived if they were not tied to real life.”¹

To understand daily life in ancient Israel and Judah our focus must not only shift to the home, but also from the urban to the rural. Historically, Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have been tell-minded in that they concentrate on

the large fortified settlements that contained palaces, temples, walls, gates, administrative and military buildings, and homes within the settlement fortifications. While people did live in those settlements, to what extent they were involved in the maintenance of the palace, shrine/temple, and administration is unknown, but one could guess that the percentage would be high. The question then needs to be asked, Does concentrating on urban environments provide us with an accurate representation of the daily life of all ancient Israelites and Judahites? I would guess not. The number of small settlements and farmsteads in Iron Age Judah is staggering. It can be assumed that the majority of “common folk” lived and worked in these smaller, more rural settlements and farmsteads, not the major urban settlements. Therefore, if we are determined to understand daily life better in all its forms, then the inclusion of homes in rural environments is a must. However, adding the rural settlements to the discussion does not mean that urban settlements should be eliminated. Rather, dwellings in both types of settings are important to understand the everyday lives of all Judahites.

Chapter outlines

A number of elements will be addressed in order to understand the preparation of food in domestic contexts in Iron Age IIB-C Judah as represented in the Hebrew Bible. [Chapter 1](#) will provide a detailed description of the methodology of research.

Before specific dwellings can be examined, [Chapter 2](#) will address the issue of domestic settlement terminology in Iron II Judah. The purpose of this chapter is to determine if the authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible were as concerned with the size of a settlement as modern scholars are; rather, it seems they were more concerned with whether or not the settlement was fortified. A word study of domestic Hebrew settlement terms in the Hebrew Bible will be conducted in order to determine how its authors/redactors defined domestic settlements. The exclusion of the text ignores valuable information about what the authors and editors of the biblical text, and by extension their communities, considered a city/town, village or farmstead. Using the information from the ground is, of course, imperative, but so is what the people of that land and time thought. This word study will be followed by an analysis of settlement classification by biblical social historians, Syro-Palestinian archaeologists, and anthropologists. The chapter will conclude with a clarification of domestic settlements taking both the Hebrew Bible and archaeology into consideration.

[Chapter 3](#) will consist of a detailed spatial analysis of chosen dwellings in excavated settlements with Iron Age IIB-C strata and their material culture. The choice of archaeological sites in Judah has been based on three features: (1) sites must have occupation layers in the Iron IIB-C periods; (2) each site must have documented, excavated dwellings; and (3) various types of sites or settlements must be chosen in order to account for size and type variables.

The spatial analysis of the excavated dwellings found at the chosen settlements has been based on the documentation of those chosen dwellings. One variable has altered the earlier archaeological intention of this research: no detailed information (published or unpublished excavation reports) on unfortified settlements (villages) could be obtained and, consequently, this category of settlement had to be omitted from my research. Unfortified rural settlements within ancient Israel and Judah have traditionally been overlooked in favor of their large, urban counterparts.² Few rural settlements within the highlands and shephelah of Judah in the Iron IIB-C have either been excavated or published.³ Many have been documented in various surveys of these areas, but excavations are usually only carried out as salvage excavations (due to road work, settlement construction, etc.). Those settlements that are excavated have limited data, usually in Hebrew, with little final analysis, and are rarely published. Recently, however, most excavations in Israel are attempting to record and publish in both Hebrew and the lingua

franca of today, English. Until the reports of these salvage excavations include summaries and analysis, are translated, published and/or made accessible to the public, studies like the present one will be incomplete. As a result, the spatial analysis in this research has been conducted using two urban fortified settlements (Tel Lachish and Tel Halif) and two rural farmsteads (Khirbet er-Ras and Pisgat Ze'ev A). It is unfortunate that the data from the fortified settlements and farmsteads will not be compared to that of an unfortified settlement. Therefore, any conclusions must be based entirely on the similarities and differences found at the fortified settlements and farmsteads. Perhaps future excavations will be conducted at unfortified settlements with their data recorded and made available to researchers; this research should be viewed as a pilot study that is intended to begin such a discussion.

Dwellings with continuous occupation from Iron Age IIB-C are ideal; however, the Assyrian campaign at the end of the Iron IIB period left most of Judah's urban fortified settlements destroyed or abandoned to squatters. The rural settlements were only established at the end of the Iron IIB, mainly occupied during the Iron IIC period, and abandoned during the Babylonian campaign (ca. 587/586 BCE). A comparative analysis of settlements from the Iron IIB period alone would have been ideal; however, the numerous farmsteads classified as Iron IIB are only the results from surveys, not excavations. Due to the lack of excavations and published reports of Iron IIB farmsteads, farmsteads from the Iron IIC period were analyzed.

The two urban settlements researched, Tel Lachish and Tel Halif, contain significant Iron IIB and scant Iron IIC occupation strata, while the two rural sites, Khirbet er-Ras and Pisgat Ze'ev, contain significant Iron IIC occupation strata. Even though the majority of the analysis of the settlements is technically from two different phases of the Iron II age, it is my opinion that these phases are only separated due to the Assyrian campaign in the southern Levant in 701 BCE in which Jerusalem was besieged but not taken, even though Sennacherib claims to have given 46 Judahite settlements with their dependent hamlets to three Philistine lords to control. Judah had already become a vassal of the Neo-Assyrian empire after it sought help from Tiglath-Pileser III against a hostile coalition of Damascus and Israel ca. 738 BCE.⁴ Thus, Judah remained a vassal to the Neo-Assyrians both before and after 701 BCE, with possible temporary reduction of its territory.

The duration during which the 46 settlements were under Philistine control is debated. Bob Becking argues that Hezekiah's tribute to Assyria was not only meant to buy off the siege of Jerusalem but also to regain control of the areas distributed to the Philistines: "In the 7th century BCE there are no indications that the territory of Judah was confined to Jerusalem and its immediate surroundings." He proposes that various paleo-Hebrew inscriptions found at numerous Judean sites indicate these areas were not under Philistine control, but Judean.⁵ However, G. Ahlström argues that Assurbanipal would have given the settlements back to Judah during the reign of Manasseh (ca.

697–641 BCE) and points to the title given to Manasseh in the Annals of Esarhaddon, *šaruru Ia’udi* or “the king of the city of Judah,” as evidence that the kingdom of Judah was reduced to nothing more than a city-state centered around Jerusalem until that time.⁶

As is the case whenever direct contact with other people groups and cultures occurs, regional cultural phenomena are directly influenced. One such phenomenon is pottery. Ruth Amiran notes that the Assyrian ware differs dramatically from local ware in both its ceramic technique and shape, which is predominately found in the shape of bowls and “bottles.” She notes that evidence of Assyrian ware is found in “all excavations... in strata of the period following the Assyrian conquest of Samaria, that is after 721 BCE.”⁷ G. Ahlström continues by noting that “Assyrian pottery (the so-called Assyrian palace ware) makes its appearance at certain places in Palestine... [and] influenced the indigenous tradition, especially in the north.”⁸

These factors raise questions regarding the continuity of pottery between the Iron IIB and C periods in Judah. On the one hand, one would expect pottery from the Iron IIC period to have been influenced by the Assyrians’ direct presence in Judah and the control of some Judahite settlements by the Philistines. On the other hand, the Assyrian influence on pottery is more evident in the north (the province of Samerina) than in the south (the kingdom of Judah). Second, the types of pottery influenced seem to be mostly from the bowl and bottle/jug categories, not cooking vessels. Third, the question of when the settlements were returned to Judahite control is not as problematic as it may seem because of the cross-cultural exchange in the form of cooking vessels that already existed between the Philistines and Judahites, which will be addressed more fully in [Chapter 3](#). Therefore, an analysis of sites from both the Iron IIB and Iron IIC is appropriate. With that said, a brief survey of the Iron IIC strata at the urban settlements will be addressed. Artifacts related to the preparation of food will be concentrated upon with the intent to see if there are any differences in preparation techniques and technology in urban and rural environments.

In [Chapter 4](#) I will consult secondary resources relating to food preparation to clarify and complement the archaeological data. Resources I plan to utilize are experimental archaeology, ethnoarchaeology, ethnography, iconography, and extra-biblical, ancient Near Eastern texts.

[Chapter 5](#) will combine the archaeological data and secondary resources with the Hebrew Bible. Passages in the Hebrew Bible that mention food preparation in domestic contexts will be translated and analyzed. There are very few passages in the Hebrew Bible that reflect food preparation, especially in domestic contexts. The narratives chosen for this research are the few that do: Genesis 18, Genesis 25, Judges 6:19–21, and 2 Samuel 13:5–10. The archaeological data provided in the spatial analysis (as well as the focus within that data on the technologies and techniques of food preparation) and the complementary secondary resources will be applied to these passages by

asking the following questions: Who prepared the food? For whom was the food prepared? When and where was the food prepared? What food was prepared and how? And why was the food prepared? It is my hope that the archaeological data coupled with the secondary resources will shed light on how food was prepared in domestic contexts within the narratives of the Hebrew Bible.

An obvious variable in this research is the dating of the passages chosen. Does it reflect domestic life? Does it reflect how food was prepared in the mid- to late second Iron Age? Current thought on the issue is that the Iron IIC period was the earliest era in which these passages were written down, collected, or redacted. Some authors/editors may have drawn upon their own times and this is reflected in their writings. It is logical to presume that if the author's own day is reflected then so are the practices of the preparation of food in that same passage.⁹ Questions to be kept in mind include: Has the author updated the narrative for his audience or has the passage been left as it was to show the audience that things were different? Unfortunately, there are no easy answers to these questions and the dating of the Hebrew Bible is well beyond the scope of this research. However, a brief survey of the dating of the biblical texts is appropriate to discuss here.

Dating biblical texts is problematic in any research. All four passages (Gen. 18; 25; Judg. 6:19–21; 2 Sam. 13:5–10) purport to reflect earlier times than their composition. The narratives in Genesis are argued to reflect a wide span of time, ranging from the Early Bronze Age (2300 BCE) to the Late Bronze Age (fourteenth century BCE) period, while Judges and 2 Samuel are argued to reflect the Iron I and IIA period respectively.

Traditionally the patriarchal narratives in Genesis are ascribed in the Documentary Hypothesis to the Yahwistic source (J), which the bookend views of composition range from the early monarchy to the post-exilic era.¹⁰ More moderately, the narratives are considered to possess some nugget of an earlier tradition, most likely from the Iron II period and then heavily edited in the exilic (Neo-Babylonian, ca. 586–538 BCE) and post-exilic (Persian, ca. 538–332 BCE) periods.¹¹ Gordon Wenham argues that the intention of the author of the patriarchal narratives is to relate family life.¹² However, like the primeval narratives in Genesis 1–11, the patriarchal narratives are designed to answer questions of origin – origins of ancestors, location, relationships, and religion.

Judges and 2 Samuel are considered part of the so-called Deuteronomistic History (DH). Judges supposedly reflects Israel/Judah in Canaan ca. 1200–1000 BCE. The narratives in Judges are thought to be regional hero narratives composed as a group of northern “deliverer stories” in the ninth century BCE and were later heavily edited by the “Deuteronomistic Historian(s)” in the exilic periods.¹³ Second Samuel is commonly viewed as covering the span of 1050–970 BCE and its narratives center on the figure of King David and the son who will succeed him.¹⁴ Like the rest of the DH, 2 Samuel is thought in

American scholarship to have originated during the reign of King Josiah (ca. 622–609 BCE) as part of the king's cultic and political reform. Frank Cross argues for two editions of the DH. The first edition originated from the reign of Josiah, after the fall of the northern kingdom of Israel, which had violated the Mosaic covenant and was punished accordingly. The Josianic cultic and political reforms were introduced as a way to save Judah from the same fate. The second edition greatly expanded the first and was written during the exile post-561 BCE (the proposed date of the last incident recorded in II Kings). The second edition recounts the story of Judah and its violation of the Mosaic covenant in spite of the Josianic reforms.¹⁵ Cross's arguments are widespread within commentaries on the DH books.¹⁶ However, the priestly/cultic concerns attributed to the Josianic reforms do not necessarily point to the concerns of Judah post Israel's deportation. Rather, the same concerns can be those of the Judahite priests and scribes in the Babylonian Exile who were attempting to answer the questions of why they are in exile and what does Yahweh-worship consist of now that the temple and Jerusalem are destroyed.

The texts have a wide range of dating. If they were written at the end of the monarchy, no major changes in Judah occurred that could have affected the techniques and technologies of domestic food preparation. If written during the exile of the Neo-Babylonian period in Judah, food-preparation techniques and technology would have continued unchanged because of a lack of influx of people and pottery. It is more problematic if the narratives were written during the Persian period because of the influx of settlers, not all of whom were Jews. Consequently, it is possible to have outside influences on cooking techniques and technology as presented in the narratives. Unfortunately, little archaeological data has been recovered from Yehud during the Persian period.

I assume these narratives were oral folk traditions first written down possibly as early as the Iron IIC period and subsequently written/added to, compiled, and redacted, perhaps quite heavily, during the exilic and post-exilic periods. Consequently, the narratives in the Hebrew Bible seem to reflect, to a certain degree, Iron IIB-C contexts regardless of the narrative being set in an earlier period. The authors and redactors could have assumed that the setting of the narrative was similar to their own. It is probable that activities of everyday life, including domestic food preparation, did not change drastically over time. Therefore, it is possible that the narratives under consideration reflect an Iron IIB-C context regardless of the setting and later redaction. Some narratives reflect later editing that adds priestly concerns and motifs; these are addressed in the analysis of the narrative.

Chapter 6 will consist of my conclusions: I will address whether or not there are differences in food-preparation techniques and technology between urban and rural domestic settlements in mid- to late Iron Age II Judah. I will then consider if this archaeological question helps to answer the overall question of my research: Do archaeological remains and complementary ancient Near Eastern sources help to illuminate the domestic gastronomical

daily life of ancient Judahites during the mid- to late Iron Age as it is exemplified in the Hebrew Bible?

Terminology

Throughout this research the following practices will be followed: the neutral, academic term “Hebrew Bible” will be used instead of the term “Old Testament” as an attempt to be specific in regards to contents while averting reference to any particular interpretative tradition or theological school of thought. I will refer to the Hebrew God by the transliteration and vocalization of the four consonants used in the Hebrew Bible as its name: Yahweh. Verses from the Hebrew Bible will be in one of the following forms: (1) the biblical text in its Hebraic form; (2) English translations are my own unless noted otherwise; and (3) other translations, taken mainly from the New Revised Standard Version (NRSV).

The term “Syro-Palestinian archaeology” will be used instead of “biblical archaeology.” “Biblical archaeology” is an outdated term that conveys images of scholars attempting to prove (or disprove) the Bible through archaeology or vice versa. In my opinion, the Bible-and-trowel approach does not allow either biblical studies or archaeology to be used as independent disciplines but rather makes each dependent upon the other. I am an advocate for interdisciplinary studies and think that both disciplines can and should be used to illuminate the other, just as other disciplines should be utilized. Moreover, Syro-Palestine is the geographical term used to refer to the area that encompasses the modern countries of Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Jordan, and the occupied territories of Palestine.

My hope for this research is to ease the deficiency of studies into the household and the daily activities of its members, especially in rural environments. It is in no way meant to be the final word on the subject; rather, it is intended to get the discussion started.

Chapter 1

THE ANCIENT HOUSEHOLD AND ITS FOOD

Introduction

In the early days of humanity's existence food was a basic necessity – one needed food in order to survive. Fast-forward to today and food has evolved into an indulgence, an art form, and a multi-layered subject of inquiry. Food science, nutrition, the history of food, and cultural anthropology are only a few of the disciplines that have been created or affected by the fascination with and love of food. More recently, archaeology in general (and Syro-Palestinian archaeology in particular) has incorporated the study of food into its repertoire. More and more Syro-Palestinian archaeologists understand the importance of botanical and faunal remains in their excavations and have published accordingly.¹ Likewise, biblical scholars, who have traditionally focused on food as a dimension of sacrifice and a topic subject to dietary laws, have included the study of agriculture and nutrition with their study of food in the Hebrew Bible.² However, the time has now come to broaden the research of food in the Hebrew Bible beyond the questions of sacrifice, dietary laws, nutrition, flora, and fauna to include more detailed questions about the role of food in the daily lives of ancient Israelites and Judahites both textually and archaeologically.

This book seeks to determine if there were differences in domestic food-preparation techniques in Judah in the Iron IIB-C period between the urban settlements and the rural farmsteads. The question will be investigated by combining the principles of household archaeology with Jack Goody's food-preparation paradigm. Each of these frameworks provides a unique way of looking at everyday life but together they can shed light on the daily preparation of food by focusing on domestic dwellings, the food-preparation artifacts found within those dwellings, and their complementary resources.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a detailed description of household archaeology, Goody's food paradigm, and how together they can illuminate the food-preparation techniques in domestic Iron Age II Judah.

Household archaeology

In 1982 Richard R. Wilk and William L. Rathje published an article that introduced the household as a narrow focus of archaeological inquiry.³ Even in today's society the household is seen as the nucleus, the center of our everyday lives. If the household, in its various forms and functions, is seen as an essential part of our lives today, how much more it must have been to the ancients, who probably spent most of their time living and working within their homes. It is this kind of reasoning that led Wilk and Rathje to focus on the household and their article has become a foundational piece of literature in what has now become the appealing and illuminating lens of household archaeology; indeed, it is a lens that has been added to the archaeological repertoire with enthusiasm. Preliminary questions that must be asked are: What is household archaeology? How is it done? How can it be used with regards to food preparation?

What is household archaeology?

Before the question of what household archaeology is can be answered, the definition of a household should be clarified. It is often assumed that households consist of family members who live and work together within the same dwelling(s). However, this assumption has been challenged as the definition of "household" and its various elements have been the subject of much discussion within anthropology and sociology.

Jack Goody defines "household" as incorporating various types of "units" or "groups." First, a distinction between "family groups" (defined by kinship, descent, and marriage) and the "domestic group" (defined by co-residence and the sharing of domestic functions) needs to be made. He suggests that a clearer definition of household can be obtained through a change in terminology and the recognition that within the domestic unit there are various subgroups: the dwelling group (related and/or unrelated), the reproduction group (including sexual and socialization groups), and the domestic function group (including production and consumption groups). He also recognizes a ritual unit of worship, noting it is the dwelling group that frequently forms it.⁴ However, D. Bender has argued that co-residence, kinship, and the sharing of domestic functions are three separate social phenomena that *could* make up a household. He suggests that households often, but not always, include kinship and domestic functions; in his view, co-residence, or the social group that forms the co-residence group, is the basic, consistent element that defines a household.⁵ Wilk and Netting contend that a

focus on the morphology (or the structure) of the household creates confusion between household and family because it neglects the functional dimension. They argue, “But as the household is in fact defined as a group sharing certain activities (residence, consumption, and the like), we can argue that the elucidation of what it is that households do is logically prior to describing their size or composition.”⁶ Wilk and Netting argue that households do not *function*, but *act*. Households can be observed “regularly acting in a patterned association with other people” and be referred to as “activity groups.”⁷

According to Wilk and Rathje, a household is “the most common social component of subsistence, the smallest and most abundant activity group,”⁸ of which there are three main ingredients: (1) the *social* aspect, which is comprised of the “demographic unit, including the number and relationships of the members”; (2) the *material* aspect, which is comprised of “the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions”; and (3) the *behavioral* aspect, which comprises “the activities it performs.”⁹ A household is more than the bricks and mortar that make up its walls; it is the people, things, and activities that occur within and around the dwelling, including the dwelling itself. It is the mothers, fathers, children, animals, kitchens, cooking pots, baking, and cooking of those dwellings; in other words, it is the people, places, things, and activities that make up daily life. Furthermore, since each society’s concept of household varies, Wilk and Rathje distinguish between a household and a dwelling unit: a *dwelling unit* is the physical space of dwelling, including the house/houses and accompanying agricultural and activity buildings; in other words, the areas where people co-reside and work. A *household* is a social unit, including the members of the household and their economic and social dimensions. However, one variable must be kept in mind: while members of a household typically live together in the same dwelling units, co-residence may not always be a primary feature of households. Wilk and Rathje note that people in many societies where groups live together are members of separate households or members of one household residing in several adjacent dwellings. They argue that “The household itself is a unit of economic and social cooperation that does not necessarily live under a single roof, though it often does. Coresidence is just one of the many possible, but not necessary, functions that the household performs.”¹⁰

Wilk and Rathje continue by noting that there are basic functions of a household that further clarify its social and economic roles. These functions can be divided into four categories that households, regardless of time and space, perform: (1) *production*, which is “human activity that procures resources or increases their value”; (2) *distribution*, which is “the process of moving resources from producers to consumers and could include the consumption of resources”; (3) *transmission*, which is “a special form of distribution that involves transferring rights, roles, land, and property between generations”; and (4) *reproduction*, which is “the rearing and socializing of children.”¹¹ The categories of household socioeconomic functions are broad

enough to be considered universal, although more detailed categories exist for specific socioeconomic functions, as will be shown later on.

Based on these definitions, household archaeology can be characterized as the archaeological study of the physical (the dwelling unit) and the social and behavioral (the household) components of the household. Through the investigation of the dwelling and its material culture (household archaeology), information regarding the activities and behavior of the members of the household can be deduced, providing a more comprehensive picture of the daily life of average ancient men, women, and children.

The Israelite dwelling

In view of the fact that household archaeology is, by its very definition, concerned with houses, their members, and their activities, it is appropriate to provide a brief summary of research into ancient Israelite houses (or household archaeology in ancient Israel). Yigal Shiloh's research in the 1970s on the ubiquitous nature of the dwellings found in Israel prompted an interest in houses that still exists today. Shiloh argued that the Iron Age dwellings excavated in Israel all had a similar plan and common features such as a back broad room with one to three (usually three) rooms or chambers running perpendicular to the broad room, often divided by pillars.¹² These dwellings are found, according to Shiloh, in all settlements in Israel and Judah throughout the Iron Age and cease thereafter.¹³ What to call this type of house has been a matter of some debate. At first, some called it the "pillared house" because of the pillars typically found within the dwelling.¹⁴ Others call it the "Israelite House" because they see a temporal connection between the arrival of the Israelites and the emergence of this house type in the archaeological record.¹⁵ However, Shiloh rejected both of these notions because (1) pillars were not the main characteristic of the dwelling (indeed not all of them have pillars) and (2) there is no clear evidence linking the arrival of the Israelites with this style of house, not to mention that these types of dwellings were also found in distinctly "non-Israelite" settlements.¹⁶ Even though he advocated an Israelite connection to the style of dwelling, Shiloh suggested the term "four-room house" because of what he deemed the major characteristic of the house type – its four-room layout of a back broad room with usually three perpendicular rooms.¹⁷

Conversely, J.D. Schloen argues that it is not the number of rooms but the presence of one or two rows of pillars that is the distinctive feature of such dwellings, thus referring to the type generally as a "pillared house."¹⁸ On the other hand, many archaeologists have called attention to the fact that, while the basic layout remained the same, many of these dwellings did not have four rooms but only three or even two.¹⁹ In spite of this almost unanimous conclusion, the term "four-room house" has been the preferred label. Still, I prefer the term "Iron Age dwelling" due to the fact that regardless of how it evolved, if it was "Israelite" or not, or whether it has four rooms or three, it

appears to be the dominant dwelling style in the southern Levant during the Iron Age.

Other significant studies of the Iron Age dwelling include its form, function, and origins. Ehud Netzer has argued against the popular thought that the middle “long room” or central space was an open courtyard; rather, he suggested that the dwellings consisted of two levels, with the first level being completely roofed and being used for storage, workshops, and stables while the second level had an open courtyard in the middle with the rooms surrounding it used as the family quarters.²⁰ While many archaeologists acknowledge Netzer’s insight into the enclosed first-floor argument, most have not supported his theory that the second floor had an unroofed central space.²¹

The provenance of the Iron Age house is directly related to the continuous debate about the origins of Israel itself, since many view the house as an indicator of the emergence of and identity marker for ancient Israel. Some have made the connection between the house and the dwelling tent of pastoral nomads; as the nomads who eventually became Israel settled they built their permanent homes in a similar layout as their mobile tents.²² More recently, A. Faust has suggested that the Iron Age house is distinctly Israelite and is symbolic of the Israelite mind. He writes,

Four-room houses, by the very uniformity of their plans, the egalitarian ethos reflected by them, and their dominant position within the society discussed, were used to reinforce the community’s values and ideology, and to strengthen the sense of togetherness of the population.²³

In other words, the Israelite egalitarian ideology and concern with purity and space, as dictated in the Hebrew Bible, can be seen in the layout of the Iron Age house and proves its Israelite origins, regardless of the dating of these biblical concerns. Others disagree and claim that the layout of the Iron Age dwelling is not an ethnic marker for Israel but evolved from the Late Bronze Age architecture of the shephelah.²⁴

Still others consider the function and environment of the dwelling to have dictated the evolution of the Iron Age house. Most notably, L. Stager suggests that the Iron Age dwelling did not originate from the nomadic tent but exhibits rural life and a change in family structure. Stager writes,

The pillared house takes its form not from some desert nostalgia monumentalized in stone and mudbrick, but from a living tradition. It was first and foremost a successful adaptation to farm life ... Changes in family structure undoubtedly had an impact on how space was used and allocated ... Its longevity attests to its continuing suitability not only to the environment ... but also for the socioeconomic unit housed in it – for the most part, rural families who farmed and raised livestock.²⁵

That is to say, the Iron Age dwelling evolved as a result of the needs of its inhabitants who practiced farming and animal husbandry; consequently, the form and function of the dwelling reflect the daily needs of the average ancient Israelite and Judahite. Whatever the origin and ethnicity of the inhabitants may have been, it is certain that the Iron Age-style dwelling was prevalent in ancient Israel and Judah during the Iron Age and must have been functionally practical.

As one can see, much research has been done on the form, function, and origin of the Iron Age dwelling. Scholars like F. Braemer have catalogued the various subtypes of the so-called “four-room house” and their distribution, not only in ancient Israel and Judah but also in the entire southern Levant.²⁶ This research is important, but more micro approaches to daily life conducted within the dwelling are needed.²⁷ Household archaeology has contributed greatly to our understanding of the household, its members, and activities, but in regards to ancient Israel the impact has been minimal.²⁸ The above studies have focused on the actual Iron Age dwelling and its demography but little has been done on the activities of its members. Three studies by L. Stager, M. Daviau, and J. Hardin in particular have focused on the activities of household archaeology within ancient Syro-Palestine. Stager utilized an interdisciplinary approach to research Israelite families in the Iron I period, concentrating on the organization of the family,²⁹ while M. Daviau conducted a spatial analysis of numerous Palestinian dwellings of the Middle to Late Bronze Ages.³⁰ More recently, J. Hardin’s research blends the approaches of Stager and Daviau by conducting a spatial analysis of one particular Iron II house at Tel Halif. It includes the use of his own primary data coupled with an interdisciplinary approach utilizing ethnographic and textual data.³¹ The ensuing spatial analysis of Iron Age IIB-C dwellings is intended to be a pilot study utilizing both spatial analysis and interdisciplinary research and is in no way intended to be viewed as an exhaustive examination of all Iron IIB-C dwellings in ancient Judah. Consequently, conclusions drawn from this analysis are provisional and will hopefully instigate further more comprehensive research.

The implementation of household archaeology

Archaeologists cannot excavate social units, or the household per se; they can only excavate the material remains of the physical, or the dwelling unit and its material culture, which is the first aspect of household archaeology. The social unit, or households, must be inferred from the physical, material remains of the dwelling unit.³² In other words, the material culture (the physical remains that can be excavated) of the dwelling unit reflects the shape and activities, and thus the behavior, of the household.

James Hardin provides further details on how to practice household archaeology within the southern Levant and Syro-Palestinian archaeology.³³ Once the dwellings have been recognized, activity areas³⁴ can be deduced from the archaeological remains by identifying the arrangement of artifacts,

their quantity in a given area, the number of artifact clusters, their location, and their relationship to each other.³⁵ It is not just the artifacts themselves but also the spatial relationship they have to each other and the dwelling unit that is important. According to Hardin, the spatial data is best preserved by the “careful mapping, recovery and analysis of the dwelling’s remains, as well as the rigorous study of all sources introducing variability into the archaeological record” (e.g. intrusive pits and erosion).³⁶ This spatial analysis includes simple questions that need to be asked: What types of artifacts have been found? Where were they located in the dwelling unit? How many? In what condition? What are their dimensions? Where are they in relation to each other? Where are they in relation to other remains and installations? Are there any micro remains? What are possible sources of variability?

Possible domestic activity areas inferred from the archaeological deposits spatially analyzed include, but are not limited to: (1) food preparation (identified from artifacts such as food processing and storage installations, pestles and mortars, cooking vessels, serving dishes, and micro remains); (2) food consumption (identified from artifacts such as plates, bowls, cups, and micro remains); (3) weaving (identified from artifacts such as looms, loom weights, and whorls); and (4) religion (identified from artifacts such as cult stands, shrines, and figurines).

According to Hardin, the second aspect of household archaeology occurs after the first aspect of excavation and spatial data analysis has transpired. This second aspect includes the addition of other resources that may help connect activity areas with the actual activities. These extra resources include (and appear in no particular order): archaeological comparative data, texts, representational art, experimental archaeology, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, scientific analysis, and studies of gender.³⁷ The existence of dwelling units and households is universal although their forms may be different; thus, it is logical to consult other sources as they relate to the household under consideration, especially if they share in common such factors as geography and time.

Once the spatial analysis is completed, documented clusters of artifacts found in dwelling units in other archaeological sites could be a useful secondary resource. Archaeologists that specialize in other societies, such as Meso-American and Classical Greece and Rome, have been utilizing household archaeology for decades.³⁸ The spatial analysis and interpretation of data from these and other projects could provide valuable clues into how other societies used similar material culture.

Consulting any pertinent texts and items of representational art to see if there is any mention or illustration of the domestic artifacts in consideration and their functions is an imperative secondary process. However, it must be kept in mind that texts often represent the experience or ideology of the writer(s)/redactor(s) and may or may not adequately reflect the daily life of the majority in that same society. Traditionally, histories were written by elite

urban males for other elite urban males. Indeed, if elite urban males wrote most of history, it must be recognized that their version of history not only excludes women, but also the non-elite and/or rural men of those same societies.³⁹ This does not mean, however, that pertinent texts cannot be included; what this does mean is that the authorship variable must be kept in mind whenever texts are included in the analysis.

Secondary resources such as ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology have become invaluable sources of analogy. Ethnography is “the study of contemporary cultures through direct observation,” while ethnoarchaeology is “the study of contemporary cultures in order to understand the behaviors and relationships that underlie the production and use of the material culture of a past society.”⁴⁰ Observing and studying a modern culture’s remains, activities, and behavior in various areas of daily life provides insight into, and possible reconstruction of, the daily life of their ancient counterparts. Experimental archaeology is “the study of past behavioral processes through experimental reconstruction under carefully controlled scientific conditions” and does not necessarily have to be conducted by a member of a traditional society.⁴¹ Replicating how technologies were created and used under controlled environments provides archaeologists and anthropologists with visual representations of past activities and events.

Scientific analysis is another source that should be utilized in the implementation of household archaeology. The development of “new archaeology” or “processual archaeology” in the 1960s and 1970s helped make archaeology more scientific by promoting as its primary mode of investigation the use of scientific inquiry, which can provide information on the past that may not have been accessible otherwise. Various scientific techniques include, but are not limited to: various computer programs, the study of environmental remains, pollen diagrams, dating techniques such as carbon 14 and dendrochronology (the study of tree-ring dating), soil geomorphology (the study of the types and shaping of soils), and paleopathology (the study of ancient diseases and their origins).⁴² While processual archaeology has led to the scientific legitimization of archaeology, it must be noted that critics have voiced concern over its complete disregard for the social dimension of archaeology. As a result, the “post-processual” school of archaeology emerged with the intention of combining the scientific mode of analysis that processual archaeology evangelizes with the social component that served as a foundation for archaeology for centuries. The post-processual approach sees the value in both the scientific and social dimensions of archaeology and attempts to utilize the best methods from both in order to better understand the ancients and their world.

The last secondary resource that could be included in the implementation of household archaeology is studies in gender or gender archaeology. The inclusion of gender archaeology helps to clarify the relationship between the

material remains and activity areas on the one hand, and the actual activities, those who participated in those activities, and the behavior behind those activities on the other.

The division of household archaeology into two aspects takes advantage of several other disciplines in order to reconstruct a more accurate picture of what daily life was like for ancient societies. Archaeology is a conglomerate discipline made up of numerous other fields and does its best work in collaboration with other disciplines, instead of in opposition to or in competition with them. Household archaeology is an exceptional example of how the interdisciplinary nature of archaeology can and should contribute to the common goal of learning more about past societies.

The anthropology of food

There are many areas of the daily life of households that could be investigated using household archaeology, including textile production, pottery production, agriculture, and religion. However, since the overall aim of this present investigation is to learn more about the preparation of food within the Judahite home and its presentation/description in the narratives of the Hebrew Bible, it is obvious that the area of household archaeology that would be of primary use here is food preparation. The study of food within anthropology has a long and established history, with several models for understanding various anthropological aspects of food introduced. Before a description of the model chosen for this research can be given, a brief overview of the anthropology of food is appropriate to give here.

Claude Lévi-Strauss most famously utilized the development of cooking techniques and rules, and how cooking is transformed into a cultural process within the myths of given societies in order to understand better where nature ends and culture begins.⁴³ More generally, M. Arnott's edited volume contains papers that span the wide spectrum of the anthropology of food, from more environmental perspectives to specific types of food in particular locations.⁴⁴

Within the focus of the ancient Israelites, food taboos have been the dominating theme. Mary Douglas's notable work on the food taboos listed in the Book of Leviticus views them as social category markers for how the world is organized. In other words, forbidden foods are seen as ambiguous and therefore threatening. Avoiding these threatening foods reduces chaos and disorder by placing them into the sacred category. Douglas also sees a connection between the sacrificial altar and the Israelite kitchen. The land animals the Israelites were permitted to eat are the same types of animals required for sacrifices and reflect God's covenantal relationship with his people.⁴⁵ Marvin Harris has also studied the Jewish food prohibition against pork (as well as other societies' food taboos). While Douglas has viewed the pork prohibition as more symbolic, Harris dismisses this concept. He argues food prohibitions are not arbitrary, impractical, irrational, useless, or harmful;

rather, they can be explained by nutritional, ecological, or financial choices. More specifically, Harris reasons there were basic ecological bases for the food prohibition against pork: pigs are not ruminants and are unable to thrive on grass and other high-cellulose plants commonly found in the Levant, unlike sheep or goats; and pigs do not adapt well to the climate and ecology of the Middle East. He concludes that the food prohibitions in Leviticus were “mostly codifications of pre-existing traditional food prejudices and avoidances.”⁴⁶

The kosher dietary laws found within the Hebrew Bible have historically dominated the inquiries into the anthropology of food within ancient Israel. However, the diet of ancient Israel has been the focus of research primarily by O. Borowski and more recently by N. MacDonald.⁴⁷ Their research illustrates that food prepared from grains constituted the bulk of the Israelite/Judahite diet and could be eaten fresh, parched or roasted (which could be eaten immediately and which traveled well), boiled into a gruel or porridge, and ground into flour, kneaded and baked into leavened or unleavened bread. Legumes were also a rich source of protein and could be boiled into a gruel or porridge as well. Dairy products, including milk, yogurt, butter, and cheese, were common features of a meal. The Israelite diet was not based on meat because animals were valuable commodities. If and when it was served, usually for special occasions and hospitality, meat was from domesticated animals like goats, sheep, and sometimes cows; however, hunting for wild game would also have produced meat for the household. According to the biblical text, pork was prohibited, but the archaeological record indicates some people groups, like the Philistines, ate pork.⁴⁸ Fruits native to the southern Levant include olives, grapes, dates, figs, pomegranates, and apricots. Fruit was either eaten raw, pressed for its juice (like wine and olive oil), dried, or processed into other products like syrup. Native vegetables include onions, garlic, field greens, cucumbers, and carrots.⁴⁹ While the daily diet of an average Israelite and Judahite appears to have been a healthy one, it seems to have been heavily reliant upon bread and cereals and thus possibly deficient in vitamins and minerals.⁵⁰

These studies and others have contributed greatly to our understanding of the role of food within present and past societies.⁵¹ However, this current research is concerned primarily with the preparation of food and will consequently utilize a model that focuses on this gastro-nomical characteristic. This then leads to the question, How is household archaeology applied to food preparation? A possible answer can be found in the application of Jack Goody’s food-production paradigms. In his book, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*, Goody focuses on food production and consumption and the development or non-development of a haute cuisine primarily in traditional African cultures. He compares their culinary culture with that of major ancient and modern societies in Asia and Europe, including ancient Egypt, imperial Rome,

medieval China, and early modern Europe.⁵² Before he delves into comparative case studies, Goody provides a detailed classification system of food production that can be applied to other studies of food, of which the primary categories are production, distribution, preparation, and consumption.⁵³ Goody's paradigm is an appropriate model for the study of food in that it provides phases and aspects of the four categories of food production that are imperative for the full disclosure of the study of food in various contexts and disciplines.

Even though Goody's paradigm is based on history and anthropology, it can be used in the study of food in other disciplines, such as archaeology. Take, for example, V. Isaakidou's study of the development of a "haute cuisine" or elaborate, differentiated cuisine within Aegean palatial contexts.⁵⁴ Goody used his own paradigm to study the creation of haute cuisines and noticed some recurring features within societies that developed a haute cuisine. Isaakidou implemented Goody's paradigm in her analysis of archaeological remains and found it helped her to recognize in the archaeological record a difference in cuisine among the upper classes of Knossos, Crete.

Goody's paradigm, coupled with spatial analysis and various complementary, secondary resources of household archaeology will provide a more comprehensive methodology for determining whether or not there is a difference in cooking technology and techniques between urban and rural dwellings in Judah in the Iron IIB-C periods. The application of Goody's models and household archaeology to address the issue of possible differentiation in cooking technology and techniques will be shown below.

Goody's food-preparation paradigm

Of Goody's four food-production categories only one, the preparation of food, will be relevant for this study, the overall aim of which is to focus on the cooking of food, not the growing, butchering, and transport of food and foodstuffs. However, in order to clarify the purpose of the food-preparation category, a brief description of the other categories is relevant: (1) production involves the various phases and aspects of agriculture (e.g. planting, cultivating, labor, resources, and technology) and animal husbandry (e.g. breeding, slaughtering, labor, and techniques); (2) distribution involves the various types of transactions (e.g. gifts and reciprocal exchange) and aspects of the act of distribution itself (e.g. storage and transport); and (3) consumption involves the serving, eating, and cleaning away of cooked food including its distribution in time, structure, manners, technology of eating, the eating group, and the differentiation of cuisine.⁵⁵ While archaeology does provide evidence for these categories it is the preparation of food, not the production, distribution, or consumption of it that is the focus of this research.

With regards to the category that most affects this research, food preparation, Goody offers phases as well as their aspects to consider. The

category of food preparation has three phases: (1) preliminary work involves the butchering of meat, the shelling of nuts, the husking, winnowing, and grinding of cereals; (2) cooking involves the application of heat or other transforming agents (cold, vinegar, salt, etc.); and (3) dishing up. Other aspects to consider include (1) who cooks with whom (the cooking group) and for whom (the consumption group); and (2) the technology of cooking (hearths, containers, instruments, ovens, spits and fuels).⁵⁶

Goody's paradigm is useful for the study of food. Incorporating his paradigm into the household archaeological study of food preparation appears to be a natural fit because it provides questions and aspects that need to be addressed in order to learn more about the cooking practices and habits of both modern and ancient societies. The second phase of food preparation (cooking) and the second aspect (the technology of cooking) are most relevant to this research and can be applied to both spatial analysis and the secondary, complementary resources of household archaeology. The combination of Hardin's suggestions for household archaeology (spatial analysis and complementary resources) and Goody's sociological classification of food provides a well-rounded methodology that, I believe, will help shed light on the everyday domestic preparation of food in any society, but especially in Syro-Palestinian archaeology, which has more recently begun to be concerned with the micro picture or daily life of the average ancient Israelite and Judahite.

Household archaeology, coupled with Goody's aspects and phases of food preparation, can be used to answer the central question of this research: Are there changes in domestic food-preparation technologies and techniques between urban and rural settlements in mid- to late Iron II Judah? Answering this question can be accomplished by first utilizing household archaeology, which would entail focusing on archaeological sites in Judah that have excavated dwellings in Iron Age IIB-C and conducting a spatial analysis of the artifacts within the dwelling area. Second, Goody's food-preparation classification can be applied to the spatial analysis of household archaeology by concentrating on specific artifacts that are essential in food preparation and the cooking technology associated with those artifacts.

The archaeological scope of this research will be limited to two specific regions of the kingdom of Judah: the shephelah and the highlands. The narrow focus has two root causes. (1) This research is interdisciplinary and utilizes both the Hebrew Bible and Syro-Palestinian archaeology. Since the likely place of composition for most of the texts of the Hebrew Bible was Judah, the archaeological focus upon it alone is appropriate. (2) The shephelah and highlands were the most populated of Judah's regions and, therefore, the center of its cultural and literary life.

The application of household archaeology to food

Many households have been excavated throughout ancient Israel and Judah. Well-known tell-oriented excavations have uncovered households, albeit they were neither the primary foci nor the most glamorous discoveries. Large fortified sites like Megiddo, Hazor, Beth-Shean, Rehov, Samaria, and Beer-Sheba have been excavated and published extensively.⁵⁷ However, these sites are located outside the shephelah and highlands of Judah (the kingdom of Israel, or the Negev) and therefore fall outside the range of inquiry of this research. The same can be said for the rural settlements of these same regions. Jerusalem, the capital city of Judah, could have been used for this research; however, the problematic nature of the site, including its history, excavation, and interpretation, is too thorny and complex to tackle here.⁵⁸ The issue with rural settlements is more technical. The shephelah and highlands had a large amount of rural villages and farmsteads dating from Iron Age II. Nevertheless, many of these rural sites have only been surveyed and not excavated.⁵⁹ Those that have been excavated were by and large salvage excavations, usually as a result of road or building construction. Furthermore, these salvage excavations were conducted by the Israeli Antiquities Authority (mostly in the 1980s), the archaeologists of which only filed year-end summaries in Hebrew. Closing reports with final analysis were not written and the few that were produced are unavailable to the public. Consequently, this lack of information made this analysis of excavated rural sites highly difficult. As a result, the archaeological datasets are incomplete and this research should be viewed as a pilot study only. I hope my research will help open the door for further research into rural households in Iron II Judah.

With that said, for this analysis archaeological sites in Judah must be primarily based on three features: (1) sites must have occupation layers within Iron Age IIB-C; (2) each site must have documented, excavated dwellings; and (3) various types of sites or settlements must be chosen in order to account for size and type variables. Two settlements from each main settlement category have been chosen: urban fortified settlements and rural farmsteads. Only two from each settlement type will be analyzed due to a lack of excavated, let alone published, rural sites. A detailed examination of these settlement types will be considered at length in [Chapter 2](#). The spatial analysis will be based on both published and unpublished documentation of the chosen dwellings. One variable could possibly include whether or not the excavation, excavation reports and publications of those dwellings were sensitive to the layout of the dwelling and the artifact clusters found within it. This lack of sensitivity can make conducting a spatial analysis difficult by not providing detailed descriptions of the dwelling and loci in which the artifacts were found – some fail to even provide comprehensive recordings of what artifacts were found at all.

Once the spatial analysis of the dwellings has been accomplished, a

narrowing of focus will be carried out through the application of the second phase and aspect of Goody's food-preparation paradigm; this will be achieved by concentrating on specific artifacts essential to food preparation and the cooking technology behind them: cooking vessels and installations. This will include a detailed analysis of cooking vessels, including the size, capacity, form (including various features such as the presence or absence of legs, spouts, rims, handles, and decoration), and clay composition of the pot, location, residue, and their relationship to each other, other artifacts, and the dwelling itself. A detailed analysis of cooking installations may have fewer features but could include the size, capacity, variety in form (if any), and the composition of the installation, location, residue, and their relationship to other installations, other artifacts, and the dwelling itself. Documenting any change in cooking vessels or installations may help in determining if there were any differences in domestic cooking methods, techniques, and ingredients between urban and rural settlements in Iron II Judah.

The second aspect of household archaeology includes the employment of secondary or complementary resources such as any pertinent texts, representational art, comparative archaeological data, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, experimental archaeology, scientific analysis, and gender studies. For the purposes of this research, some of the above resources will be more applicable than others. These secondary resources will clarify and complement the archaeological data gathered from the spatial analysis. The inclusion of Goody's food-preparation phases and aspects would include using these other sources for complementary information on cooking artifacts and the technology behind those artifacts. The social dimension of the aspects of food preparation (the cooking group and the consumption group) are not the focus of this research but are interesting features that may be worth mentioning in order to grasp the daily activity of cooking in ancient Judah.

The Hebrew Bible and Syro-Palestinian archaeology

There are textual and representational sources available for this research, such as the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Near Eastern texts and art that may mention/illustrate cooking vessels, installations, and the techniques of cooking associated with those artifacts. The inclusion of the biblical text with archaeological inquiry remains, however, a subject of much dispute. The debate over whether the Bible and Syro-Palestinian archaeology, or what some still call "biblical archaeology," can or should be used together has become a tedious and tiresome one. The 1990s saw an explosion of publications and presentations on this issue among some of the most notable biblical scholars and archaeologists of the time. What is "biblical" archaeology and how is it done? Is the Bible historically reliable? Can they be used together? If so, how? If not, why? These are just a few of the questions asked and not too often agreed upon. Even though the high-spirited debate has

deflated somewhat, it is still appropriate to give a brief synopsis of the situation here, especially considering the interdisciplinary nature of this research.

The so-called field of “biblical archaeology” developed and expanded most famously through the work of William F. Albright, an American ancient Near Eastern and biblical scholar who advanced the idea that archaeology in the Holy Land can prove the reliability of information in the Bible.⁶⁰ His view, which in his defense was the common one of the day, was that the Bible was a literal rewriting of history, and archaeology could provide the necessary “decorative” evidence.⁶¹ Consequently, the history of ancient Israel was based solely on the biblical text, with archaeology serving as a means to support that history. For generations, the Albrightian method remained unchallenged, even as other archaeologies expanded into more scientific and anthropological areas.

As often happens, the pendulum began to swing the other direction. Biblical scholars who disagreed with the Albrightian view of the historical reliability of the Bible began to voice their concerns. Scholars such as P. Davies, T.L. Thompson, and N.P. Lemche questioned the consensus of how, when, and why the texts of the Hebrew Bible were written.⁶² They argued that the Hebrew Bible is primarily a literary text that cannot be disconnected from its theological and ideological agendas and that it contains little or no reliable history and should be considered a fabrication. Furthermore, because of its lack of historical reliability, using the biblical text alongside archaeology is of little or no benefit. These scholars and their minimal view of the historical reliability of the Hebrew Bible have been labeled “minimalists,” while those who view the Hebrew Bible as historically reliable have been labeled “maximalists.”

Similarly, the new archaeology movement (or processual school) of the 1960s-1980s sought to ground archaeology in more scientific approaches and move away from the social or historical foundational elements of archaeology. Within “biblical archaeology,” W. Dever saw the value of such scientific approaches and encouraged the archaeological community to divorce itself from its Albrightian marriage to the Bible and reposition itself within the greater ancient Near Eastern community. Dever foresaw a future with “an independent discipline, freed from the domination of biblical studies that has characterized it in the past.”⁶³ The processual approach, coupled with the fact that the Albrightian approach was also viewed as a religious one, prompted an attempt by archaeologists to legitimate the field by “liberating” it from any religious framework. Historically, “biblical archaeology” was practiced and supported by religious and ideological institutions, which resulted in a stark contrast with the newer approaches to archaeology found primarily within anthropology departments in the United States.⁶⁴ As a consequence of this separation, the term “biblical archaeology” was seen to represent a religious, Bible-and-trowel approach to archaeology and was given up in favor of the

term “Syro-Palestinian archaeology” or “archaeology of the southern Levant.” Indeed, those who still use the term “biblical archaeology” today are usually in Christian or Jewish/Israeli communities within the United States and Israel.

Today, the foremost topic within Iron Age archaeology of ancient Israel/Judah is the chronology debate. In 1996, I. Finkelstein argued there was no safe chronological anchor between the twelfth century BCE, when the battles of Ramses III with the Sea Peoples occurred, and the Assyrian campaign in Palestine at the end of the eighth century BCE. Anchors for the transition between the Iron I and Iron IIA are lacking and the understanding of the transition has been too dependent upon the “historical” narratives within the Hebrew Bible. Finkelstein suggested an alternative dating for the main strata of the early Iron IIA, called “low chronology,” which lowers the dating of this period from the tenth century to the ninth and is based on archaeological evidence, not the biblical text.⁶⁵ Amihai Mazar responded by admitting that there are few anchors for Israel during the early Iron Age but argued that Finkelstein’s “low chronology” (or LC) is “based on flimsy evidence and creates new unsolvable problems.”⁶⁶ Mazar has more faith in the historical reliability of the Hebrew Bible than Finkelstein and views it as reliable set of texts regarding this disputed time of transition. Since the publication of these articles, the so-called chronological debate has dominated the discussion of Iron Age archaeology,⁶⁷ including Mazar’s later admission of the validity of some of Finkelstein’s arguments and his introduction of a compromise that he labels a “Modified Conventional Chronology (MCC).”⁶⁸

More recently, however, the processual view of history and text as immaterial to archaeological inquiry has been challenged (part of a post-processual approach). This approach does not view the text as something to be avoided; rather, it views it as an artifact per se. Within Syro-Palestinian archaeology and biblical studies, it values the arguments of the so-called minimalist school in that the literary, theological, and ideological contexts and agendas of the text are considered imperative. However, it disagrees with their contention that there is no historical reliability within the text whatsoever – how much might be present remains to be determined. People with a reason, a purpose, and an agenda wrote the texts – this cannot be denied. Even Finkelstein, who might be assumed by some to be in the so-called “minimalist school,” argues for a more “centered” approach. He writes,

The third camp – to which I belong and which is positioned in the center ... acknowledges the value of these texts in preserving reliable evidence on the history of Israel in monarchic times. However, they [the third camp] see the stories – in the way they are presented in the text – as highly ideological and adapted to the needs of the community during the time of their compilation ... Once we become aware of the fact that the texts are relatively late in date, and that they preserve the stories from the subjective point of view of the needs of the writers, then we

can acknowledge the tremendous power of archaeology as the real-time witness to the events.⁶⁹

This view of the use of the Hebrew Bible and Syro-Palestinian archaeology, and the view adapted for this research, values interdisciplinary approaches and attempts to utilize all it can to illuminate the world under consideration, including texts considered holy writ by some.⁷⁰

Other secondary resources

Other secondary resources besides the Hebrew Bible used for this research include comparative archaeological data, which is a relevant source in that consulting the documented cooking vessels and installations of other archaeological sites and the archaeologist's interpretation of the cooking techniques behind those artifacts may provide insight into how these same artifacts were or were not used in Iron Age Judah. Sites in the wider geographical region (the ancient Near East) and of the same or neighboring time periods (Bronze-Iron Ages) will be given preferential consideration because of their geographical, cultural, and historical relationship to ancient Judah.

Ethnography and ethnoarchaeology will also prove to be valuable assets in this research by observing the cooking techniques employed, particularly those of cooking vessels and installations, by ancient Judah's modern counterparts, such as the Bedouin or Druze communities. The information gleaned from these communities may provide information that will help in the reconstruction of cooking vessels and installations and their function in antiquity. It must also be kept in mind, however, that cultures do not remain stagnant over time; societies and their cultures do change and this variable must be accounted for when using ethnography and ethnoarchaeology by honestly assessing the similarities *and* differences between past and current societies.

Researchers attempt to replicate the creation and employment of various artifacts, activities, and events through experimental archaeology. On the one hand, the ability to duplicate the conditions, elements, and techniques even if all the quantities are known is improbable and unlikely. On the other hand, in spite of these deficiencies, experimental archaeology has proven to be a helpful analogous tool and will continue to be as more of the unknown quantities become known.

Scientific analysis may not be as readily available as some of these other resources, although, when it is available, it can be a crucial resource. The scientific examination of any animal bones and botanical remains or residue within or near the cooking vessels or installations can provide important information about what exactly was cooked, how it was cooked, and consequently, consumed.

The last resource, gender studies or gender archaeology,⁷¹ is defined as research that “considers people in the past, especially the relationships of women and men to the social, economic, political, and ideological structures of particular societies.”⁷² The inclusion of gender archaeology attempts to clarify the relationship of the material remains and activity areas to the actual activities, those who participated in those activities, and the behavior behind those activities. While sensitivity to gender is helpful in focusing on the micro dimension or daily life, it must be kept in mind that gender cannot be directly observed through material remains. Archaeology is, first and foremost, based on physical remains and must be accountable to interpretations based on those physical remains. For instance, household archaeology is based on dwelling units and their physical remains; household activities, such as cooking, are inferred from those artifacts. Gender archaeology can help infer who was active behind the artifacts, but it is more difficult to do so with a high degree of accuracy without being heavily dependent upon analogies from outside sources (such as ethnography and ethnoarchaeology). Household archaeology also makes use of these outside sources but is not solely dependent upon them; rather, it is dependent upon the artifacts unearthed within dwellings. Gender archaeology can use the scientific inquiry into burial remains as a more physical representation of gender and gendered activities. Besides DNA analysis of human remains, other gender-related factors could be gleaned from burials and human remains: sex differentials in workload, physical risk, disease, nutrition, reproductive patterns, childhood stress, trauma, and mortality.⁷³ Unfortunately, burial remains are hard to find, especially in ancient Israel and Judah. Consequently, a gender-sensitive approach to household archaeology should be cautiously implemented with awareness that the inference of gender-related activities and behavior based on physical remains alone is on somewhat shaky ground.

Limitations

The spatial analysis of household archaeology, coupled with Goody’s food-preparation paradigm and complementary resources (when available), will provide a solid methodology for analyzing and documenting domestic cooking technologies and techniques of urban and rural settlements in Iron IIB-C Judah. On the other hand, it is important to be aware of the limitations of one’s research. Possible limitations of the spatial analysis include: (1) the amount of sites within Judah inhabited in the Iron IIB-C periods; (2) the existence of excavated, documented dwellings at the chosen settlements; (3) the existence of food-preparation artifacts within the dwellings at the chosen settlements; and (4) the possibility of dwellings and artifacts excavated and reported without a sensitivity to spatial analysis. Limitations regarding the complementary resources are far more wide ranging due to their extensive nature. These possible limitations include: (1) the lack of comparative

archaeological data, especially within Syro-Palestinian archaeology; (2) the authorial/editorial intent and date of any pertinent texts; (3) the evolution of, and modern influences on, traditional societies used in ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological analogies; (4) unknown quantities in experimental archaeology; (5) the lack of, disregard for, or the mishandling of, zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical remains or residue within the dwelling or artifacts; and (6) the limitations of gender archaeology, which have already been noted.

Conclusion

The archaeological question asked at the beginning of this chapter was: Are there differences in domestic food-preparation techniques in Iron IIB-C Judah between urban and rural settlements? I believe that a household archaeological approach that includes spatial analysis, Goody's food-preparation paradigm, and complementary, secondary resources provides a means to answer that question. As was shown, a household approach focuses on the dwelling unit and household, the artifacts within the dwelling unit, and the activities and behavior of its members. Shifting our focus from the macro to the micro should inevitably lead us to consider more closely the stage where daily life occurred and, since most of the activities of daily life in antiquity occurred in or around the home, it only makes sense to shift our attention to the household.

In order to understand the daily life of the average ancient Judahite, an intimate look at the material remains of the dwelling unit and thus the household is imperative. For this research, household archaeology's spatial analysis will focus on dwellings and the artifacts found within those dwellings in Iron IIB-C Judah. Goody's food-preparation classification can be applied by concentrating on specific artifacts that are essential in food preparation, such as cooking vessels and installations, and the cooking technology associated with those artifacts. Dwellings, the artifacts within the dwelling (specifically cooking vessels and installations), and their spatial relationships will provide the necessary archaeological data for this research. Various complementary resources have the potential to clarify the specific cooking artifacts and technology. The combination of household archaeology and Goody's food-preparation paradigm will help shed light on any differences in domestic food preparation between urban and rural settlements in Iron IIB-C Judah, which will then help us understand better the role food played in domestic Iron Age Judahite culture and the narratives in the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter 2

SETTLEMENT CLASSIFICATION IN IRON AGE JUDAH

Introduction

Within biblical studies there is little consensus between scholars on many, if not most, subjects. This lack of consensus is magnified when archaeology of the southern Levant and the archaeologists who specialize in it are included in the discussion, not to mention the baggage that each of us brings but heroically (and sometimes not so heroically) attempts to discard or ignore, such as our nationality, sex, and religious or non-religious beliefs, which further broaden the divide. This lack of consensus became even more evident as I began identifying which sites in Iron IIB-C Judah contained documented dwellings that would be part of the case study. What should have been a simple task quickly snowballed into an issue that needed clarification, even if only for my own peace of mind: there seemed to be little to no agreement on the classification or types of settlements. What one scholar or archaeologist would call a “city” another would call a “town” or “administrative center.”

As one can imagine, this soon became a problem while trying to identify and interpret data on various sites. Consequently, the quest to clarify the muddy waters of settlement classification begins with a question that bears some further discussion: with regards to settlement classification, does size matter? In other words, is the size of a settlement the determining factor in how it is classified? Are the settlement classifications suggested by Syro-Palestinian archaeologists consistent with how the authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible describe those settlements? The purpose of this chapter is to determine if the authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible were as concerned with the size of a settlement as modern scholars are. Such a quest as this must begin with the not-so-glamorous task of a word study of various domestic

settlement terms used in the Hebrew Bible, followed by a brief overview of Israelite settlement pattern research. A more detailed analysis of settlement classifications put forth by social historians of the Hebrew Bible, Syro-Palestinian archaeologists, and anthropologists will be presented, and will conclude with my own proposal.

It must be noted that the dating of passages used as examples is beyond the scope of this research; it is the intention of these examples, regardless of date of authorship or redaction, to provide a somewhat accurate description of domestic settlements in Judah in the Iron IIB-C periods. I am aware, however, that historians think that fortified settlements with civilian populations were frowned upon, if not prohibited, in the Late Bronze Age, when Egypt controlled the southern Levant,¹ and possibly again in the Neo-Babylonian² and Persian periods³ when the area became a province of the larger world empire rather than an independent kingdom. Thus, the date of a text might affect such views.

A survey of Hebrew settlement terms

The authors of the Hebrew Bible used a range of terms when writing about various settlement types in the southern Levant. **עִיר** and **קִרְיָה** are the most frequently used and have historically been translated as “city or town,”⁴ while **חָצֵר**, **כְּפָר**, and **חֲוָה** have been translated as “village or courtyard.” **נֹוֹה** is a more infrequent term and is translated as a “country habitat,” “abode of shepherds or sheep,” or “pasture.” Administrative and military settlement terms include **מִגְדָּל**, which is translated as “tower,” and **בִּירָה**, which has a range of meanings that include “fortified palace,” “castle,” “citadel,” and “fortress.”⁵ Since the purpose of this research is to concentrate on the domestic terminology, the administrative and military settlement terms **מִגְדָּל** and **בִּירָה** will be dismissed in order to concentrate more fully on the domestic terms.

The city/town

Domestic terms that are translated as “city or town” include two synonyms: **עִיר** and **קִרְיָה**.⁶ **עִיר** is the more widely used of the two terms in the Hebrew Bible and is found approximately 1000 times, while **קִרְיָה** is only used approximately 35 times, often in poetic contexts. Roughly 500 usages of these terms lack useful contextual clues for this study, but around 400 have such information and from these references a compilation of traits can be created.⁷

First and foremost, cities/towns range in size from large to small. There are many references to “great” or large cities/towns in the Hebrew Bible, so only a few examples will be provided here. Numbers 13 tells the story of the 12 Hebrew men who are sent to spy out the Promised Land. The spies report, “the towns [הָעָרִים] are fortified and very large” (13:28).⁸ Likewise, in Deut.

6:10 Moses describes the land the Israelites are about to enter as “a land with fine, large cities [עָרִים] that you did not build.” Examples of small cities/towns can be found in Gen. 19:20, where Lot begs the messengers of God to allow him to flee the town of Sodom to another, smaller town; “Look, that city [עִיר] is near enough to flee to, and it is a little one. Let me escape there – is it not a little one? – and my life will be saved!” A second example of a small city/town is found in Eccl. 9:14, where the teacher uses an illustration of a “little city [אֶת־הָעָרִים הַאֲלֵהָ] with few people in it” that is besieged by a great king. Clearly, cities/towns ranged in size and were not classified by this criterion in the Hebrew Bible.

A second characteristic is that cities/towns were fortified with walls, gates, and sometimes with bars and towers. An example can be found in 2 Chron. 14:7, which has no parallel in 1 Kgs 15:9–24, where Asa, King of Judah, takes advantage of peacetime to undertake a building campaign. “He said to Judah, ‘Let us build these cities [עִיר] and surround them with walls and towers, gates and bars.’” Similarly, when Solomon embarked on his building campaign, according to the Chronicler, he built or rebuilt Upper and Lower Beth-Horon and Baalath, “fortified cities [עָרֵי מִצּוֹר] with walls, gates and bars” (2 Chron. 8:5), whereas the writer of Kings does not specify the manner in which he (re)built these cities (1 Kgs 9:17–18). A final example can be located in 1 Sam. 23:7. While hunting down David, King Saul exclaims, “God has given him into my hand; for he has shut himself in by entering a town [בְּעִיר] that has gates and bars.” According to these passages and others, it seems that a major characteristic that sets a city/town apart from other types of settlements is that it was formally fortified with walls and gates, and some even with towers (Gen. 11:4; 2 Chron. 14:7; 26:9), bars (Ps. 147:13; Deut. 3:5; 1 Sam. 23:7), some made of bronze (1 Kgs 4:13).

The third and final characteristic is that, besides carrying out administrative, military, or cultic functions, cities/towns also contained domestic space within their walls. The governmental function of some walled cities/towns is indicated by the addition of a qualifier to the noun עִיר, such as עָרֵי הַמִּסְכָּנֹת or “store-city/town”; עָרֵי הָרֶכֶב or “chariot-city/town”; and עָרֵי הַפָּרָשִׁים or “cavalry-city/town” (all in 1 Kgs 9:19=2 Chron. 8:6). An example of domestic space within a walled city/town, on the other hand, is found in Jer. 33:4, which is about the measures that were taken in order to defend Jerusalem against the Babylonians, “concerning the houses of this city [בְּתֵי הָעִיר] and the houses of the kings of Judah that were torn down to make a defense against the siege ramps and before the sword” (Jer. 33:4). Similarly, in Joel 2:9 cities not only have walls but also houses with windows: “They leap upon the city [בְּעִיר], they run upon its walls; they climb up into the houses, they enter through the windows like a thief.” It may be safe to assume that these houses provided shelter not just for soldiers and administrative officials, but for “women, the children, [and] livestock” (Deut. 20:14); likewise, Jer. 21:6 states, “And I will strike down the inhabitants of

this city [יְשִׁבֵּי הָעִיר], both human beings and animals.”

There are also numerous references in the Hebrew Bible to “towns and their pastureland” (הָעָרִים ... מִגְרָשֵׁיהֶן) see Num. 35:2, Josh. 21:2–3). From this one can deduce that land for pasture and farming by the town’s inhabitants surrounded the settlement. Other examples of this can be found in Josh. 24:13, which states, “I gave you a land on which you had not labored, and towns [וְעָרִים] that you had not built, and you live in them; you eat the fruit of the vineyards and oliveyards that you did not plant”; and again in Amos 9:14, “and they [Israel] shall rebuild the ruined cities [עָרִים נְשָׁמוֹת] and inhabit them; they shall plant vineyards and drink their wine, and they shall make gardens and eat their fruit.” Clearly, the above verses point to the fact that cities/towns contained dwellings that were inhabited by ordinary men, women, children, and their livestock and were surrounded by pastureland and farmland (including oliveyards, vineyards, and orchards) that the above inhabitants utilized and cultivated.

To summarize, cities/towns ranged in size from small to large, were formally fortified with walls, gates, some with towers and bars, contained domestic space that sheltered men, women, children, and animals, and were surrounded by pastureland, farmland, vineyards, oliveyards, and orchards.

The village

The second type of domestic settlement is that of the village. The three synonyms used to denote villages are: כִּפּוֹר, חָצֵר, and חֲצֵר. חָצֵר is the more widely used of the three terms in the Hebrew Bible and can be translated as either a “courtyard” or “unfortified village.”⁹ While חָצֵר is found approximately 180 times, roughly 130 usages refer to a courtyard and the remaining 53 usages arguably to an unfortified village.¹⁰ כִּפּוֹר is translated “village”¹¹ and is only used approximately five times.¹² Finally, חֲצֵר is only used in the plural and can refer to “villages” or “tent villages” and it is used roughly six times in the Hebrew Bible;¹³ however, three of these are directly related to the villages of Jair, the so-called “minor” judge (Jud. 10:4; 1 Kgs 4:13; 1 Chron. 2:23); the remaining three are in Num. 32:41; Deut. 3:14; and Josh. 13:30.¹⁴ Of all occurrences of these three terms, 140 are not helpful for this study, but 57 are, and from these references a compilation of traits can be created.¹⁵

The first and most important trait is the village’s lack of formal fortifications. Unlike the town/city, villages were not formally or officially fortified. This is evident in several passages: Lev. 25:29–31 describes the difference between the redemption of an occupied house (בֵּית מוֹשֵׁב) in a walled city/town (עִיר חוֹמָה) and houses/buildings in unwall villages (וּבְתֵי הַחֲצֵרִים אֲשֶׁר אֵין־לָהֶם חוֹמָה סָבִיב) during the sabbatical and jubilee years. The latter shall be classed as open country (שָׂדֶה הָאֲרָץ). Correspondingly, Song 7:11 states, “Come, my beloved, let us go forth into

the countryside [הַשְׂדֵּה] and lodge in the villages [בְּכִפְרִים],” while 1 Sam. 6:18 refers to “both the fortified city [בְּעִיר מוֹבֶזֶר] and the unwallled village [כְּכִפֵּר הַפְּתוּחַ].” Even though there is reference to Philistine cities and villages, paired with other verses it can be shown that the walled city/town and unwallled village was a common distinction found in the southern Levant as a whole.

The second trait of villages found in the Hebrew Bible is that they were dependent upon nearby cities/towns. The dependency of villages upon nearby towns is unmistakably clear on account of the phrase “towns and their villages,” which is found in abundance in the Hebrew Bible. Several chapters of the book of Joshua contain a large number of these references (chs 13, 15–19, and 21), most of which recount the division of the Promised Land to the Israelites. Time and time again the phrase “towns and their villages” (עָרִים ... וְחִצְרֵיהֶן) is used after the boundaries and major towns within them are listed for each tribe. The typical pattern seems to be the following: (1) the listing of boundaries for the tribe’s allotment of land; (2) the listing of major towns within the said boundaries; (3) a summary of the number of cities/towns listed; (4) the clarification that they included their dependent villages; and (5) a closing that reiterated which tribe received the allotment. An example of such a summary can be found in Josh. 18:28: “fourteen *towns with their villages*. This is the inheritance of the tribe of Benjamin according to its families.”

Yet another example of this dependency is found in the phrase “[name of] town and its daughters [עָרִים וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ],” which is also commonly translated as “[name of] town and its villages” and not so commonly as “[name of] town and its dependencies.” Joshua 15:45 states, “Ekron, with its dependencies and its villages [עֲקֵרוֹן וּבְנוֹתֶיהָ וְחִצְרֵיהָ].” Villages were dependent upon, and therefore the dependencies of, a city/town just like a daughter (בַּת) was dependent upon her parents, thus making the city/town a parent to the daughter – more specifically, a mother (אִם), who protects and takes care of the daughter. The concept of a city/town being a sort of parent or mother to its daughter can be found in 2 Sam. 20:19, where a wise woman is telling Joab, “I am one of those who are peaceable and faithful in Israel; you seek to destroy a city that is a mother [עִיר וְאִם] in Israel.” It is clear from these examples that an unfortified village was, by and large, so dependent upon a nearby city/town that it was considered almost part of it, or perhaps fell under the city/town’s defensive, administrative, and cultic supervision, much like a daughter was under the authority of her mother. In other words, buy a city/town and get its villages for free. It is worth noting here that K. Whitelam sees this dependency more as a co-dependency in that the cities/towns were dependent upon villages for agricultural support.¹⁶ This could be the case for cities/towns that were geared towards specific functions like storage towns, chariot towns, and cavalry towns that may or may not have had either significant amounts of agricultural lands or the time to do both their duty to

the royal town and provide for their own sustenance. Therefore, these function-specific cities/towns may have had to depend upon a local village for their survival.

A third trait of villages found in the Hebrew Bible is that they were rural and worked the surrounding farmland. A brief illustration of this can be found in Neh. 11:25, which refers to the villages with their fields (**הַחֲצֵרִים בְּשָׂדֵתָם**), admittedly from a late Persian or Hellenistic context. Leviticus 25:31 states that “the houses in villages that have no walls around them shall be classed as open country [**שָׂדֶה חֲאֵרִין**].” Although this verse does not explicitly state that pasture/farmland surrounded the village, it can be deduced from this that the agricultural lands the inhabitants worked on surrounded the villages, much like the cities/towns. From this example it can be seen that villages were surrounded by pastureland and farmland, which more than likely included vineyards, oliveyards, and orchards.

A possible subcategory of village, perhaps a category in and of itself, is the hamlet. The Hebrew term **פְּרוֹזָה** could be translated as an open region or hamlet and is found roughly six times in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁷ Examples of this word can be found in Ezek. 38:11, which mentions “the land of the unwalled villages [**אֶרֶץ פְּרוֹזוֹת**],” and also in Zech. 2:4, which states, “Jerusalem shall be inhabited like villages without walls [**פְּרוֹזוֹת**] because of the multitude of people and animals in it.” Therefore, the inclusion of the hamlet as a settlement type is possible according to the biblical text.

To summarize, villages were not officially fortified, were dependent upon their nearby cities/towns for various reasons, and were connected to the nearby worked farmland. It is possible that some function-specific cities/towns that may or may not have had agricultural lands or time to work the land were dependent upon local villages for their sustenance.

The farmstead

The third and final domestic settlement term is **נִיָּה**, which has a range of meanings, including “country habitation,” “dwelling,” and “habitation for shepherds,” but the context for most of the citations refers to “sheep hold” or “pasture.”¹⁸ It must be noted here that there is little mention of rural habitations and their inhabitants in the Hebrew Bible – I am not the first to notice this. Many scholars have called attention to the fact that the writers and editors of the Hebrew Bible were more than likely elite, urban males whose rural cousins were often overlooked unless they had a role to play in the narrative.¹⁹ **נִיָּה** is found approximately 31 times in the Hebrew Bible and, while 15 of the usages are not helpful for this study, 16 are and from these a compilation of traits can be created.²⁰

The first trait of the **נִיָּה** is its status as countryside habitation. Zephaniah 2:6 states, “And you, O seacoast, shall be dwellings [**נִיָּה**], shelter to shepherd, and sheepfolds for flocks.” The “dwellings” mentioned in this verse are followed by the rural terms, “shelter to shepherd” (**בֵּית רֹעִים**) and

“sheepfolds for flocks” (וּגְדֵרוֹת צֹאן), providing clues that the dwellings referred to were rural dwellings or country habitations. Even though all three terms could be seen as uninhabited land, the succeeding verse tells us that the dwelling translation is appropriate. Verse 7 states that it is this “seacoast” that will become the possession of the remnant of Judah and “upon them they will pasture” and “in the houses of Ashkelon they shall lie down at evening.” The seacoast represents the rural uninhabited land while the houses of Ashkelon, one of the Philistine city-states, represent the urban habitations of the Philistines that Judah will come to possess.

A second example is found in Isa. 32:18, which states, “My people will abide in a peaceful habitation [בְּנוֹת שְׁלוֹם], in secure dwellings [וּבְמִשְׁכְּנֵי מִבְטָחִים] and in quiet resting places [וּבְמִנוּחַת שְׁאֲנוֹת].” Again, the context of the usage of נִיָּה seems to be that of habitation – in fact, the ideal habitation. The author writes about the desertion of the palace, the noisy city, the citadel, and the watchtower; that only when the “spirit from on high” is “poured out on us” (v. 15) will peace abide. Only in Yahweh’s peace will Yahweh’s people feel secure and live the life of peace – the ideal life. Not only will they “abide in peaceful habitation, in secure dwellings and in quiet places” (v. 18), but “happy will you be who sows beside every stream. Who let the ox and the donkey range freely” (v. 20). It appears that the quiet, country life is the ideal life of peace for this author.

The second trait of the נִיָּה is that of a meadow, pastureland, or sheepfold, which is the more common translation of the term. An example of this usage is found in Ezek. 34:14, which states, “and they shall feed on rich pasture [בְּנוֹת] on the mountains of Israel.” Likewise, Isa. 65:10 proclaims, “Sharon shall become a pasture for flocks [לְנִיָּה צֹאן], and the Valley of Achor a place for herds to lie down, for my people who have sought me.” Both of these verses reflect the rural or country setting that the term נִיָּה seems to indicate. Therefore, it could be said that נִיָּה is a term that suggests a country setting for habitations – whether that be for humans or animals. It could be assumed that, based on the country setting of the term, these habitations were focused on farming and animal husbandry and could be identified with the modern word for farm or farmstead.

Summary of Hebrew settlement terms

The above word study on domestic settlement terms may seem dull and unnecessary; nevertheless, it has clarified the differences between domestic settlement types in the Hebrew Bible, rendering it entirely necessary. To summarize, according to the Hebrew Bible, there were three basic domestic settlement types in ancient Israel/Judah: (1) the country dwelling, temporary hut, or shelter, which by its very definition was located in pastureland and was probably the smallest and most rural of the three settlement types; (2) the villages and hamlets, which were rural, formally unfortified, and dependent

upon the nearby cities/towns in various ways; and (3) cities/towns, which ranged in size, were formally fortified, contained domestic space inside the walls and/or farmland or pastureland outside the walls, or dependent villages or hamlets.

The most important element to point out here is the differences between the two major settlement types: the village and city/town. According to the study above, there is only one physical trait, not function, which would differentiate between a domestic city/town and a village – that is, fortifications. Both cities/towns and villages contained the same basic domestic characteristics: dwellings, pastureland, and farmland. Villages were usually smaller than cities/towns, but as we have seen, cities/towns ranged in size from large to small. Therefore, the only physical trait that could absolutely clarify the difference between the two is that cities/towns were formally fortified while villages were not; it would seem that this is how the authors of the Hebrew Bible distinguished between the two.

Israelite settlement pattern overview

Research into Israelite settlement patterns has traditionally been used as a means to understand the origins of the Israelites and the development of the Israelite state.²¹ While an exhaustive exposition of research on settlement patterns is beyond the scope of this chapter, a brief summary of the more noteworthy publications is appropriate.

The archaeological discussion of Israelite settlement patterns has most recently emerged from the carrying out of surface surveys, beginning with Y. Aharoni's work in the upper Galilee in the 1950s.²² Since then, numerous surveys have been conducted throughout Israel/Palestine and have revealed that hundreds of new small settlements were established during the Iron I and Iron II periods. Most notably, A. Zertal's work in Manasseh, D. Amit's survey of farmsteads in northern Judea, A. Kloner's work in the surrounding area of Jerusalem, and the survey of the hill country of Benjamin by I. Finkelstein and Y. Magen have provided a much-needed framework in which to research the settlements of ancient Israel.²³ These surveys have been utilized in a number of inquiries, including the collected papers in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*, which emphasize the long development of the Israelite monarchy.²⁴

Other settlement studies worthy of note here have looked at a particular aspect of settlement. In *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*, scholars have written on the various forms of architecture typically found throughout ancient Israel.²⁵ Likewise, Y. Shiloh has focused some of his research on the planning and development of ancient Israelite cities.²⁶ Regional studies, such as *Living on the Fringe: The Archaeology and History of the Negev, Sinai and Neighbouring regions in the Bronze and Iron Ages* by I. Finkelstein, examined settlements specifically in

Israel's most southern regions, while M. Haiman compared rural settlements within the Negev to sites in the more northern regions of Palestine in his contribution to *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*.²⁷ The study of houses, households, and families has also been part of the settlement discussion. Studies such as those by Y. Shiloh, L. Stager, E. Netzer, F. Braemer, and J.D. Schloen have contributed greatly to our understanding of the Israelite house within the various settlement types.²⁸

Most settlement studies have focused on urban environments, including Y. Shiloh's article, "Elements in the Development of Town-Planning in the Israelite City," and the work of C.H.J. De Geus and V. Fritz on *Towns/Cities in Ancient Israel*, respectively.²⁹ More recently, interest in Israel's rural settlements has become the focus of research for a small, albeit increasing, number of scholars. Oded Borowski's work has not been on settlement types per se, but has focused on the agriculture, husbandry, and daily life of ancient Israel within rural environments.³⁰ Oded Lipschits's investigation of the continued existence of rural settlements in Judah both before and after the Neo-Babylonian campaign illustrates the importance of researching the rural settlements.³¹ The most prolific archaeologist who researches ancient Israel's rural settlements is A. Faust. His focus on settlement types, specifically the rural settlements of the village and farmstead, is a direct result of his more traditional interest in the emergence of Israel and the status of its monarchy(ies).³² The above are some of the more noteworthy contributions to the study of ancient Israelite settlement patterns. A more detailed analysis of specific settlement classifications by both biblical social historians and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists is presented below.

Settlement classification by biblical social historians

According to the above word study, it is reasonable to conclude that the authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible made a distinction between domestic settlements primarily on the basis of the presence or absence of formal fortifications. Yet, when we turn to settlement classification of the southern Levant by biblical social historians and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists, it is size and function, not the presence or absence of walls, that matters. Two social historians of the Hebrew Bible, C.H.J. De Geus and Volkmar Fritz, have written extensively on the walled cities/towns of ancient Israel and Judah. A third biblical historian, Oded Borowski, is also an archaeologist and could be placed in either category. A brief survey of their domestic settlement classifications, which draw on both textual and archaeological evidence for their understandings, is appropriate here in order to bridge the gap between biblical scholarship and archaeology of the southern Levant.

The first biblical social historian who has taken on the settlement classification debate is C.H.J. De Geus, whose book, *Towns in Ancient Israel and in the Southern Levant*,³³ concentrates on the form and function of the largest settlement type, the city/town. De Geus makes a very clear distinction

in his study between the terms “city” and “town”:

Contrary to the major cities of Egypt, Syria or Mesopotamia, the towns of the southern Levant tended to be rather small ... It has often been stated that only Samaria and perhaps Jerusalem, the capitals of the states of Israel and Judah, actually had the air or the size to deserve the title of “city.”³⁴

As a result of this distinction, De Geus uses the term “town” rather than “city” throughout his study. According to his classification, all settlements fall into three categories: capital cities, towns, and villages. Interestingly enough, he does not include a category for anything smaller than a village. He claims, “A pattern of land use with isolated farms spread out over the countryside is scarce in the Ancient Near East of the Iron Age.”³⁵ Despite his English edition³⁶ being published in 2003, his claim is contradicted by recently published survey data. Within the last decade or two there has been a shift in the archaeology of the southern Levant from excavating big settlements to surveying and doing salvage digs at small settlements. The data has shown numerous small, isolated farmsteads from the Iron Age throughout the central hill country of Samaria and Judah as well as in the shephelah. David Amit³⁷ and A. Faust³⁸ are two archaeologists who concentrate on the rural farmsteads and they have shown them to be not as scarce as De Geus claims.

De Geus does look at some Hebrew domestic settlement terms, primarily עִיר and כְּפִיר. However, his translations of the terms should be looked at more carefully. De Geus translates עִיר as a general term meaning any kind of settlement.³⁹ Indeed, while it could be translated as such, as was shown earlier, עִיר is used in the Hebrew Bible primarily to indicate a settlement with encircling formal fortifications rather than as a generic term for all types of settlements. Likewise, De Geus’s translation of כְּפִיר could be problematic since he perceives it to mean “a walled or fenced-in village”⁴⁰ instead of a “courtyard” or “unwalled village,” as was shown earlier. What is not clear is if De Geus means formal fortifications or informal boundary walls. The fact that כְּפִיר could be translated as either courtyard or village could indicate that villages contained shared, communal courtyards within clusters of houses or a central, public courtyard. If one were to look at V. Fritz’s subcategories of villages (ring-shaped and agglomerated; see below), it could be conceded that agglomerated village dwellings may have shared communal courtyards while ring-shaped ones had a central, open space that might loosely be called a public courtyard.

De Geus’s settlement classification system (capital, town, village) is based on size and function. According to him, towns were ten to twenty acres in size and could be further classified by function: (1) rural centers; (2) regional centers with an administrative function; and (3) administrative centers with military/ceremonial functions.⁴¹ De Geus then provides a list of ten criteria for calling a settlement a town, none of which specifies the existence of formal

fortifications. It seems that whether or not a town has “works of art made by professional artists ... [and] the presence of some scientific knowledge”⁴² is part of what makes a settlement a town, not its walls, gates, and towers. As was shown in the word study, fortifications should be on this list, if not the first criterion to be met.

The second biblical social historian in this research is Volkmar Fritz, the late scholar of Protestant theology and the Bible, and archaeologist and director of the German Protestant Institute of Archaeology in Jerusalem, who wrote a book entitled *The City in Ancient Israel* in which he presented his analysis of the history, form, function, and daily life of ancient Israelite cities.⁴³ Other than his preference for the word “city” over “town,” Fritz’s classification of settlements resembles De Geus’s in that all settlements fall into three main categories: (1) capital city, (2) city, and (3) village. Aside from capital cities, he identified three basic subtypes of cities: (1) residential only, (2) military or administrative only, or (3) a combination of residential and administrative/military.⁴⁴ He also divides villages into three subcategories: (1) the ring-shaped village (many houses built close together that create a round shape with an open area in the middle); (2) the agglomerated village (a mass of houses with little to no planning); and (3) the farmstead (one dwelling with a few agricultural buildings).

While he does not give a size spectrum for cities, Fritz states that villages were only 1.25–2.5 acres in size,⁴⁵ thus allowing the reader to assume that, in his view, settlements larger than 2.5 acres should be classified as a city. Yet, classifying anything over 2.5 acres as a city is far too generous and seems overly simplified, even by most archaeological standards. The generalization that villages were somewhere between 1.2–2.5 acres is hardly realistic, considering the fact that farmsteads, Fritz’s smallest village subcategory, are typically this size or larger. Fritz does not allow for a medium type of settlement; in fact, his categories seem to claim that settlements should be classified as either large (cities) or small (villages), with no classification for medium-size sites.

According to Fritz, the economy and the number of inhabitants influenced the form of settlement a village took.⁴⁶ Fritz’s differentiation between a ring-shaped village and an agglomerated village is useful to determine if a village was planned or not and what the village’s mainstay was. The open space in the middle of the ring-shaped village was a common area for the village and was more than likely used as a place to shelter the animals, thus rendering it a village more dependent upon its herds. The unplanned development of the agglomerated village, on the other hand, meant that space was limited and its common area was outside of the village, in or near its fields, and not very secure, thus rendering it a village less dependent on herds and more on its fields. The inclusion of the farmstead in the village category, however, is puzzling since a farmstead represents a single, independent economic unit. By definition, a village is a small group of homes in a rural area including their

fields and secondary agricultural buildings, while a farmstead is one to two homes with its fields and secondary agricultural buildings.⁴⁷ A settlement that only consists of one or two homes (a farmstead) should not be lumped into the same category as a settlement that consists of several, if not many, homes (a village). Rather, the farmstead should be considered a category of its own, even if one is classifying by function; surely, the function of a single farm differs from the function of a larger community in terms of resources, inhabitants, and production.

One final note on Fritz's examination of the city is that, while he utilizes biblical texts, his references to the Hebrew Bible primarily provide a historical backdrop when reviewing a specific site, like Megiddo, and not when presenting his argument for his classification categories. Fritz's background in Protestant theology proves that he was familiar enough with the Hebrew text and perhaps chose not to utilize the settlement references because they did not coincide with his classification system.

The third biblical social historian in this research is Oded Borowski who has written on agriculture and animal husbandry in ancient Israel, which can be considered both a macro and micro concentration. In his book, *Daily Life in Biblical Times*, Borowski looks at the daily life of both the urban and rural inhabitants of ancient Israel and Judah.⁴⁸ Borowski's settlement classification system is divided into two main categories: urban and rural. The urban category is then subdivided into cities and towns which were larger than 12 acres, preplanned, contained public buildings for state administration, cult centers, fewer dwellings, and were fortified. Borowski then further subdivides the city into three types: (1) the capital, which was centrally located, next to a major trade route, fortified, and contained palaces and public and cultic structures; (2) the regional center, which contained public structures, large storage facilities, fortified, limited dwellings, and possibly cultic centers; and (3) the second-tier regional center, which contained some public buildings, some with water systems and shrines, storage facilities, and fortifications, and could be called a town rather than a city.⁴⁹ The rural category consists of villages that were smaller than 12 acres, contained no public buildings or cult centers, were not preplanned, and were close to a water source. Borowski then further subdivides the village based on Fritz's types of villages: the ring-shaped village, the agglomerated village, and the farmstead.⁵⁰

Borowski's categories seem to be based more on function as opposed to size since he hardly mentions the range of size each category should include. Rather, he focuses more on the function of the settlement, as can be seen in his subdivisions of both the city/town and the village. As was mentioned earlier, the inclusion of the farmstead in the village category is misleading in that it ignores the basic definition and function of what a farmstead is compared to what a village is. Borowski does mention the settlement words found in the Hebrew Bible, in particular the relationship between the mother (the town) and her daughters (בנותיה).⁵¹ However, the Hebrew terms are only

mentioned, mostly in passing, on a couple of occasions. Again, the exclusion of the text is ignoring valuable information on what the authors and editors of the biblical text, and by extension their communities, considered a city/town, village or farmstead. Using the information from the ground is, of course, imperative, but so is what the people of that land and time thought. As one can see, the above social historians of the Hebrew Bible base their settlement classifications on size and function with little agreement to what the biblical text seems to indicate. It seems that their archaeological experience influenced their interpretations of settlement classifications more than the text itself.

Settlement classification by Syro-Palestinian archaeologists

Obviously, archaeologists base their interpretations on what is in the ground and not on what it is in the text. Some will make use of the text to clarify or strengthen their interpretation of excavated data. Very few, however, would have completed the word study presented above and a survey of discussions of domestic settings indicates that none has bothered to do so. Archaeologists of the southern Levant tend to classify settlements primarily in terms of size and function. To demonstrate this, the following is a brief survey of the classifications proposed by four archaeologists who have written on settlements in ancient Israel and Judah.

The first Syro-Palestinian archaeologist, Amihai Mazar, in his most well-known book, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000–586 BCE*,⁵² provides the reader with only one settlement type: cities. According to Mazar, the city can be subcategorized by size and function: (1) capitals, (2) district centers, and (3) country towns. Mazar describes a capital city as being 12 to hundreds of acres in size with a population far exceeding 10,000, fortified, containing a royal acropolis, public buildings, markets, and residences. The second subcategory, district centers, functioned as regional administrative and military centers that were around 20 acres in size, with a population of 2,000–3,000, fortified, containing public buildings that had specific functions (such as storehouses, stables, and administrative buildings), which were separated from the rest of the town by walls and gates. The third subcategory is that of country towns, which were five to seven acres in size with a population of 500–1000, were fortified, and contained many dwellings.⁵³

The only settlement type that Mazar describes is that of a city, which raises the question: Do all settlements fall into the city category? What does one do with the unfortified settlements that do not fall into any of his sub categories? To classify the smaller, unfortified settlements as a city would be unfaithful to the site, not to mention the biblical text, which clearly states that there were unfortified settlements and country habitats. The focus on the city is a clear example of how Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have traditionally concentrated on the macro, or large-scale sites and material culture such as temples, cities, gates, and cultic items as opposed to the micro, or small-scale sites such as villages and farmsteads.⁵⁴ Fortunately, since the publication of

Mazar's book there has been a shift, albeit a small one, to the micro setting within Syro-Palestinian archaeology. Biblical scholars and archaeologists alike have begun to realize that the study of the everyday, such as the smaller sites and domestic material culture, is more authentic to the life of the average Israelite and Judahite than the macro, which tends to illuminate the life of the elite.

The second Syro-Palestinian archaeologist, Ze'ev Herzog, has written on the archaeology of the city in ancient Israel and Judah. In an essay entitled "Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age"⁵⁵ he writes on the form of settlements in Iron Age Israel and Judah. In his section on the Iron II period, he concentrates on urban settlements and what distinguishes urban settlements from rural settlements; it is not their size, function, or fortifications but the fact that they were planned and how so – in other words, their form. Herzog states, "The Iron Age II is notable for the planning of its fortifications and public buildings alongside residential buildings, appropriate for a stratified urban society with economic, military, and religious institutions."⁵⁶ Herzog writes that there are three main aspects to settlement planning: (1) the type of planning, whether that be orthogonal, peripheral, or radial plans; (2) the quantitative relationship between public structures and private dwellings; and (3) the streets and open areas in the urban system.⁵⁷

The first aspect of settlement planning is in regards to the outer shape or outline of the city/town, which was classified by Herzog as either orthogonal or peripheral and radial plans. Cities/towns that were designed according to the orthogonal plan were square and did not fit the natural shape of the mound but were more impressive from the outside, and it was easier to include square buildings within their walls. Cities/towns that were designed according to peripheral or radial plans were oval in shape and fit within the natural shape of the mound. Peripheral cities/towns were designed with a wall that fit the mound's contours, but the buildings inside were not standardized, while radial cities/towns were not only designed to fit within the contours of the mound but were planned by placing radii at central points within the walls, which helped to create a more systematic and uniform town.⁵⁸

Herzog's second aspect of settlement planning is the quantitative relationship between public structures and private dwellings. In other words, the number of public buildings within a city/town compared to the number of private dwellings is an indicator of how important it was. The more important the city/town the more planning it received in areas dedicated to public structures, including walls, gates, storehouses, water systems, and palaces. On the opposite end, cities/towns that had more area dedicated to private dwellings received less planning and thus were less important.⁵⁹ The third and final aspect of settlement planning involved streets and open areas. The idea is that planned cities/towns utilized space more efficiently, including their streets and courtyards. Cities/towns with a high degree of planning often included uniform streets and well-planned open courtyards.⁶⁰

Herzog claims that the degree to which a city/town was planned directly indicates what its function was. Based on this, Herzog created his own typology or categories of settlement types: (1) capital city, (2) major administrative city, (3) secondary administrative city, and (4) provincial towns. Capital cities (based on the northern capital of Samaria) were orthogonal in plan, with the royal and administrative enclosure totally separate from the lower or civilian part of the settlement. Major administrative cities were peripheral with a limited area for dwellings; the planning of buildings in the administrative area was orthogonal and well planned, while the civilian buildings were peripheral and poorly planned. Secondary administrative cities were usually built for a purpose and were the best planned of all the settlements – that is, radial. There was little distinction in the secondary administrative cities between the administrative and the civilian dwellings, probably because the civilian population was the family of the administration for whom the city was built in the first place. The last category is that of the provincial town that contained mostly private dwellings with little to no public structures or planning.⁶¹

Herzog's contribution to the settlement conversation is unique in that he makes the connection between the function of the town and the planning of the town, or its form. While his distinction of different types of settlement planning and its contribution to a town's function is useful, I would again argue that settlement classification needs to add one more criterion to this discussion – formal fortifications. Size, form, and function are characteristics of a settlement that must be closely considered, but whether or not a settlement was formally fortified should be included in that discussion. As was shown earlier, the presence or absence of formal fortifications and gates is a major marker for what is considered a town in the Hebrew Bible and since many readily use it to support their hypothesis, it should be referred to in this discussion as well.

The third Syro-Palestinian archaeologist, Avraham Faust, is one of the few Syro-Palestinian archaeologists who concentrate on the rural settlements of ancient Israel and Judah. For the purposes of this chapter, two of Faust's articles will be discussed here: "The Farmstead in the Highlands of Iron Age II Israel"⁶² and "The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II."⁶³ In his article on the rural community, Faust concentrates on one type of settlement – the village. For the most part, Faust is more concerned with the form and function of the village and the social elements that emerge as a result of it. Aspects of form, and, as a result, function, include house size, size and distribution of agricultural/industrial installations, presence of terraces, storage facilities, and other factors such as boundary walls.⁶⁴ According to Faust, these elements of a village can provide clues to the social structure of the village, including its economic security and decision-making capabilities. Based on these elements, Faust has concluded that there were three types of villages: (1) villages owned by a physically absent landlord such as the palace

or member of the urban elite, which had a low standard of living and mere subsistence level; (2) privately owned villages whose landlord was physically present, whose level of subsistence and standard of living was higher than those with absentee landlords; and (3) communal villages, which had the highest standard of living, greater wealth and construction, and subsisted above a mere survival level.⁶⁵

Faust's concentration on the rural settlements of ancient Israel and Judah is encouraging to see in a field that has historically been focused on the macro and urban settings. His social classification of villages is also helpful in that it adds another element to the settlement discussion. Faust also includes the boundary wall in his list of elements of what provides clues into the social structure of a village. He writes that the so-called boundary walls were not like the formal fortifications of a city/town; rather, they were of "considerably more modest construction than the walls of the cities from this period" and "incorporated the outermost structures of the village one with the other to form sort of a wall."⁶⁶ Reasons for the boundary wall would include the guarding of livestock, storing of water, ensuring privacy, and possible symbolism of who is included and who excluded. Faust's description of the boundary wall is similar to Fritz's description of different village types, especially the ring-shaped village, in that the buildings were built close together to create a modest defensive barrier and an open area in the middle. The term "wall" may be a bit confusing in that it is not a formal wall with gates, towers, and bars like a city/town would have had; perhaps the terms "enclosure" or "barrier" would be more suitable to describe this element of a village, whether ring-shaped or agglomerated, that provided some sort of fence or obstruction.

Faust's second article, "The Farmstead in the Highlands of Iron Age II Israel," focuses on the second of the two rural types of settlements – the farmstead. Unlike his first article, Faust concentrates on the size of the farmsteads rather than their form and is particularly interested in the social and economic elements that emerge as a result of it. According to Faust, there are three defining elements of a farm that provide the clues to its social and economic context: (1) the size of the farmhouse; (2) the internal division of the farmhouse; and (3) the extent of agricultural lands. Based on these elements and relevant archaeological data, his conclusion is that farmsteads were more than likely inhabited by an extended family rather than a single nuclear family.⁶⁷ As a means of supporting his argument, Faust delves into a discussion on one particular Hebrew settlement term found in the Hebrew Bible. Based on the word study done earlier in this chapter, one would think that this term would be **נֶחֱלָה**, which was shown to mean a "country habitat," "abode of shepherds" or "sheep pasture" and could be considered the ancient equivalent to the modern word for farm or farmstead. Instead, Faust looks at the word **חֲצֵר**, which he argues has been erroneously translated as "courtyard" or "unwalled village" because of a misunderstanding of the terms

עִיר and תָּחֵר. Faust claims that עִיר should not be translated as “city” or “town,” but rather, as a generic term meaning any type of settlement that contains any concentration of houses including the village; consequently, the term תָּחֵר should be translated as “farm or farmstead.”⁶⁸ His support for this argument is based on Lev. 25:31, which was used in the earlier word study. He states, “But houses in villages תְּחָרִים that have no walls around them shall be classed as open country; they may be redeemed, and they shall be released in the jubilee.” Faust states that “almost all villages of the period are walled.”⁶⁹ Therefore, Lev. 25:31 could not possibly be referring to villages but to what he claims is the only unwallled settlement type – farmsteads.

Returning to his first article momentarily, Faust writes that most villages were surrounded by a small defensive/boundary wall that, when compared to the fortifications of the cities, was “considerably more modest,” was more than likely part of already-built structures being built close together, and “at times, however, a free-standing wall was built, for the sole-purpose of ‘bounding’ the settlement.”⁷⁰ It seems that Faust agrees with the fact that these so-called boundary walls were nothing close to the formal fortifications of walls, gates, bars, and towers that a city/town would have possessed. If villages were not formally fortified like cities/towns, why would he combine villages into the same category, especially if cities/towns have been shown to include in their definition formal fortifications, which villages did not possess?

If one were to agree with two of Fritz’s subcategories of villages (ring-shaped and agglomerated) then the translation of תָּחֵר as “courtyard” and “unwalled village” makes sense – they are a pair. The fact that תָּחֵר could be translated as either courtyard or village could indicate that villages contained either shared, communal courtyards within clusters of houses or a central, public courtyard. Agglomerated village dwellings may have had shared communal courtyards while ring-shaped ones had a central, open space that might loosely be called a public courtyard. Villages had a courtyard in one form or another; thus, the translation of תָּחֵר as a “village” and “courtyard” is connected and a legitimate translation. Conversely, village boundary enclosures are not viewed as formal fortifications by either the biblical text or by most archaeological data and should not be classified as such. Furthermore, Faust uses only one verse to support his hypothesis.

One final archaeologist whose settlement classification system is to be briefly analyzed is Israel Finkelstein. In his book, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, Finkelstein explores the emergence of Israel in Canaan during the Iron I period through an analysis of archaeological and ecological elements, including occupational patterns of the time periods before and after the so-called “settlement.” The region of Ephraim is the focus of his reconstruction of the settlement because of its primary role in this series of events.⁷¹ Finkelstein’s classifications are based on his theory that Israel’s settlement marked a transition from a nomadic to a sedentary way of life. He

argues Israel's nomadic origins were reflected in the arrangement of their settlements. The Israelites constructed their settlements in the same manner as more modern Bedouin circular encampments, with houses built facing inward and close together to create an informal boundary wall and central courtyard that housed the herds. This arrangement reflects herding as the settlements' primary activity as well as the nomadic origins of the occupants.⁷² Furthermore, Finkelstein argues that there were several characteristics of Iron Age sites in Israel to consider: (1) geographical location, (2) site size, (3) settlement pattern, (4) architectural layout, and (5) pottery.⁷³ These characteristics are the determining factors of Finkelstein's settlement classification. The first category is the large central village, which was 5–6 dunams in size, was mainly located in the economically advantageous central range and northern slopes, spaced a considerable distance from the next large central village, and had smaller villages nearby. The second category is the small village, which was 3–4 dunams in size, located either in the desert fringe, the southern slopes, or foothills and closely connected to a nearby larger village.⁷⁴ The third and final category includes sites that consist of only a few houses and may suggest "pastoralism, seasonal agriculture, or very small permanent villages." According to Finkelstein, 49 percent of the sites in Ephraim fall into this category.⁷⁵

Finkelstein's classification may be simple but takes a number of determining factors into consideration. Regarding fortifications, he notes that there was no real systematic attempt to fortify settlements formally in Israel during the early Iron I period. Finkelstein argues that, during the second half of the Iron I period, formal fortifications evolved from the layout of courtyard villages, which in turn evolved from the nomadic tent.⁷⁶ Perhaps it is this evolution that prompted the distinction between what some archaeologists call a city/town and a village.

Settlement classification by anthropologists

Thus far this chapter has reviewed what the Hebrew Bible seems to say about domestic settlement types, and what biblical social historians and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have said. The last, but not least, important aspect of this research is the anthropological discussion, which has been addressing the issue of settlement patterns with greater regularity than either biblical historiography or Syro-Palestinian archaeology. To some degree, anthropologists have an easier task than the biblical historian or Syro-Palestinian archaeologist simply because the latter both have as a primary source texts that are also regarded as holy writ, which can complicate the situation. Anthropologists, on the other hand, do not have this added pressure and can concentrate more fully on the data and task at hand.

A worthy example of this discussion can be found in the article, "Peruvian Settlement Pattern Studies and Small Site Methodology" written by C. Mackey and E. Moseley,⁷⁷ both anthropologists from the United States. The

article was published in 1972, which shows that the settlement discussion has been in existence for some time within the anthropological community. In their article, Mackey and Moseley provide a synopsis of past settlement theories put forth by other anthropologists and propose the use of a theory used by pottery typologists to determine settlement types.

The first anthropologist under their review is Gordon R. Willey,⁷⁸ who was a member of the Peruvian Viru Valley Project that began in 1946. Willey was the first in Peruvian archaeology to use the archaeological data of space and distribution as a means to interpret the organization and function of a site. As a result of this analysis, Willey identified four types of sites: (1) living sites, (2) community or ceremonial centers, (3) fortified refuges, and (4) cemeteries. Obviously, these site types are not just domestic settlements but rather a division of all types of sites in Peru. Willey's classifications were generally accepted and applied to the Peruvian Viru Valley sites with little to no critique. In the 1970s anthropologists and Peruvian archaeologists returned to the Viru Valley and began to review Willey's settlement classification. The critique was made that Willey's broad parameters of what constituted a type of settlement framed the outcome of the analysis in that all sites analyzed were lazily lumped into one of his four categories with no consideration for other types. As a result of this, other settlement classification systems were researched and put forward.

Richard P. Schaedel⁷⁹ postulated a settlement classification based on architectural seriation, that is, the layout and monumental construction of a settlement: (1) settlements with large pyramids or platforms were classified as "ceremonial centers"; (2) settlements with little monumental architecture but with large amounts of domestic structures and household garbage were classified as "lay centers" or "towns"; and (3) settlements dominated by large, well-organized compounds with well-built internal structures were classified as "urban elite centers." Schaedel based his settlement classification on the assumption that most of the settlements were only occupied for short periods of time; therefore, each site's architectural features were clearly and absolutely defined and could be classified as such. Schaedel's assumption that most Peruvian sites were occupied for only short periods of time, coupled with the neglect of the fact that settlements could contain more than one of his distinguishing features, is limiting. Most anthropologists would probably concur that sites fluctuated with mixed architectural features and layout patterns throughout their history and could have contained more than one of his defining characteristics.

John H. Rowe's⁸⁰ settlement classification system is based on the size of the population of the settlement. Distinctions are made between ceremonial centers and urban settlements, with urban settlements being further subdivided into cities and towns. The distinction between cities and towns is based on population, with any settlement of over 2000 residents being classified as a city. Cities are further subdivided into settlements that either are supported by

an adjacent rural population or not. Rowe suggests that cities supported by and somewhat dependent upon a local village are more subject to abandonment due to rebellion of the rural population. Rowe's classification by size is reflective of the classifications by Syro-Palestinian archaeologists.

After their brief synopsis of various settlement classification systems in Peruvian archaeology, Moseley and Mackey argue that while these previous systems have been helpful they are lacking in that they do not provide a reliable mode of classification. They state that "sites must be treated in terms of the activities they housed" and that the previous classification systems do not do this.⁸¹ They propose the use of the Kroeber methodology as a means to classify Peruvian settlements, which was developed by A.L. Kroeber as a methodology in ceramic typology.⁸² The basic premise of this methodology is that large sites are more cosmopolitan and thus influenced by outsiders; therefore, the pottery of the large sites is heterogeneous, or diverse in character and content. By contrast, the ceramics at smaller sites are relatively pure and undiluted by outside influences and, consequently, they contain more accurate representations of that people group's ceramic tradition. Kroeber's theory of "pure style" ceramics is based on two assumptions: (1) that sites with short occupation spans do not document large quantities of cultural change; and (2) that small sites are less likely to have been in contact with and thereby less influenced by outside populations, unlike a large cosmopolitan city.⁸³ As a result of this combination, Moseley and Mackey write, "If a small, ephemeral population produces pottery of 'pure style' it is because the people are not subject to stylistic variation introduced by time, space or social heterogeneity."⁸⁴ In other words, the small site size and brief occupation periods are less likely to have been influenced by outsiders and thus are more likely to reflect a society's uninfluenced or pure material culture.

Moseley and Mackey adopted Kroeber's methodology and applied it to settlement classification, labeling it "small site methodology." They argue that Kroeber's two basic assumptions can be applied outside of ceramics to include other activities and, since they argue that sites should be classified according to those activities (function), this would include settlement classification. The lack of influence by outsiders that is reflected in the ceramics of small ephemeral sites can also be seen in the type and range of activities of those same sites. In other words, by looking at small sites, it will be easier, not to mention more efficient and accurate, to determine the relationship between the remains of a site and the behavior behind those remains, which in turn will reflect the type of settlement. Moseley and Mackey provide three possibilities for applying Kroeber's theory to settlement classification: (1) "At small sites it is possible to economically work out correlations between specific configurations of prehistoric remains and specific modes of human activity";⁸⁵ (2) "With the investigation of sufficient settlements of focused activity, a repertoire of archaeological attributes characterizing different behavior patterns can be built up";⁸⁶ and (3) "This

repertoire can be used to help dissect out various functional components at large, complex settlements.”⁸⁷

The application of Kroeber’s theory to clarify settlement classification is promising; it could provide valuable information on ancient societies, the activities in which they participated, and the settlements in which they lived. This small-settlement approach is especially applicable to the study of the southern Levant in that, as has been stated before, more and more Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have turned their attention away from the large urban tells to the small rural settlements. The adoption of this methodology could even persuade some tell-orientated archaeologists to take another look at the small, unwallled settlements in the countryside. As applicable as this approach is, however, there are some obvious restrictions: (1) the same type of remains can be found at both small and large sites but have different behavior associated with them; (2) new objects can be utilized differently and therefore behavior is different; and (3) some remains are only found at large sites and not small ones.⁸⁸ One other aspect to take into consideration, which is particular to the study of ancient Israel and Judah, is that available texts should be part of the discussion. Like any theory or methodology adopted from other disciplines, the Kroeber theory can be adapted to better suit the study of the southern Levant.

Conclusion

When looking at domestic settlement classification in Iron Age Judah, there seems to be a general opinion among Syro-Palestinian archaeologists and social historians of the southern Levant that settlement terms are based on size and function, although what to call these settlements is not agreed upon, nor is the size range. The threshold in dunams or hectares of land that differentiates a town from a village varies from archaeologist to archaeologist as well as the terms used; what some label a town others call a city, capital, or administrative center. However, if one chooses to view the text as an artifact, the text must be taken into consideration as well. According to the authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible, it is neither size nor function that is the primary criterion for distinguishing between a town and village, but whether or not it was enclosed within a formal defensive wall. While size and function are important and should not be discarded, it seems that, at least according to the Hebrew Bible, fortifications are just as important in this distinction. A modern classification should not only take size and function into consideration, but also take into account the terms found in the Hebrew Bible. The authors and editors of the Hebrew Bible were not as concerned with the size of settlements; therefore, what they thought of settlements is just as important as any archaeological theory.

While another voice may only stir up the muddy waters, I would like to propose a solution to the problem, one which considers both the size and

function aspects proposed by social historians and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists but also the terms used in the Hebrew Bible. It should be noted here that I prefer the term “walled settlement” to “city” or “town” and “unwalled settlement” to “village” or “hamlet,” simply because the terms city, town, village and hamlet are modern terms that imply certain modern/postmodern images that are consciously or unconsciously imposed on the ancients, such as cities without fortifications, skyscrapers, public works, municipal politics, and literacy. This is not only an inaccurate assumption but is also, for lack of a better word, unfair. It is our job as historians and archaeologists to set aside our biases and postmodern worldviews as best we can in order to view the world of the ancients more responsibly and accurately. This advocacy should be encouraged in even the smallest matters, like settlement classification.

With that said, a possible domestic settlement classification could be the following: (1) royal settlements (capitals); (2) fortified settlements (cities or towns); (3) unfortified settlements (villages and hamlets); and (4) farmsteads. The term “royal settlement” would be reserved only for what has been previously labeled as capitals, in particular those of Israel (Samaria) and Judah (Jerusalem), regardless of their actual size. The term “fortified settlement” would describe settlements that were: formally fortified and ranged in size but typically were larger than unfortified settlements; provided some sort of official function (whether it was administrative, military, or cultic), especially over local unfortified settlements and farmsteads; contained dwellings; and were surrounded by agricultural lands and associated agricultural buildings and installations. “Unfortified settlement” would describe domestic settlements that were: unprotected by solid or casemate fortifications; more rural and smaller than a fortified settlement; dependent upon a nearby fortified settlement for administrative, defensive, and cultic reasons; and contained agricultural land and associated agricultural buildings and installations. A final domestic settlement type would be the smallest one of all – the farmstead. “Farmstead” would describe a domestic settlement that was: not formally fortified; more rural and smaller than a fortified or unfortified settlement; dependent upon a nearby fortified settlement for administrative, defensive, and cultic reasons; consisted of few houses; and contained agricultural land and associated agricultural buildings and installations.

The above classification is only a small attempt to help to remedy the dissonance between the terms for and classification of domestic settlement types in Iron Age Israel/Judah and is in no way meant to be the final word on the subject. Rather, it is to be seen as an invitation to biblical scholars and archaeologists of the southern Levant alike to discuss this dissonance and hopefully come to some sort of consensus that takes into account the terms used in the Hebrew Bible as well as the archaeological data. So, to answer the question, With regards to settlement classification, does size matter? Well, that

depends on whom you are asking: according to some biblical scholars, no; but according to other biblical scholars, including those interested in social history reviewed here, and archaeologists, yes.

Chapter 3

A SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF IRON II JUDAHITE SETTLEMENTS

Introduction

Household archaeology, coupled with Goody's aspects and phases of food preparation, can be applied to answer archaeological questions concerned with domestic food preparation. The spatial analysis of household archaeology, combined with Goody's food-preparation paradigm, provides a solid methodology for this research by analyzing and documenting any change in artifacts and techniques.

Both expected and unexpected variables have made the analysis of this research difficult. Such variables include: the existence of excavated, documented, and published dwellings in urban and rural environments in Iron IIB-C Judah; natural and cultural formation processes at those sites, such as water erosion, wind erosion, slope wash, floralturbation (disturbance caused by plants), faunalturbation (disturbance caused by animals), resettlement, and the secondary use of both architectural and artifactual remains; the method of excavation, documentation, and publication; the availability of published and non-published information (especially on the rural sites); the existence of food-preparation artifacts within the dwellings at the chosen settlements; the possibility of dwellings and artifacts having been excavated without a sensitivity to spatial analysis; and the lack of, disregard for, or mishandling of zooarchaeological and archaeobotanical remains or residue within the dwelling or artifacts.

As indicated in the previous chapter, the choice of archaeological sites in Judah has been based on three features: (1) sites must have occupation layers in the Iron IIB-C periods; (2) each site must have documented, excavated dwellings; and (3) various types of sites or settlements must be chosen in

order to account for size and type variables. Two walled settlements, Tel Lachish and Tel Halif, and two farmsteads, Khirbet er-Ras and Pisgat Ze'ev, have been chosen. The spatial analysis of the excavated dwellings found at the chosen settlements has been based on the documentation of those chosen dwellings. The scientific examination of any animal bones, botanical remains or residue within or near the cooking vessels or installations could provide important information about what exactly was cooked, how it was cooked, and consequently consumed. Unfortunately, documented scientific analysis was either not available or only moderately so in some of the sites chosen. The latest published reports on Tel Lachish contain the most information on botanical remains as well as animal remains, while Tel Halif and Khirbet er-Ras contained some information on animal remains. When available, the information is provided under the heading of the rooms in which they were found. The format of this chapter includes the following for each of the four sites: (1) the background of the settlement; (2) the reasons for and description of the dwelling chosen at the settlement; (3) a detailed report of the layout and contents of each room in the settlement, including descriptions of the cooking vessels and installations excavated; (4) the assignment of activity areas based on the architectural features and artifactual remains unearthed in each room; (5) a description of the activity areas, concentrating on the areas of food preparation; and (6) a brief summary of the analysis.

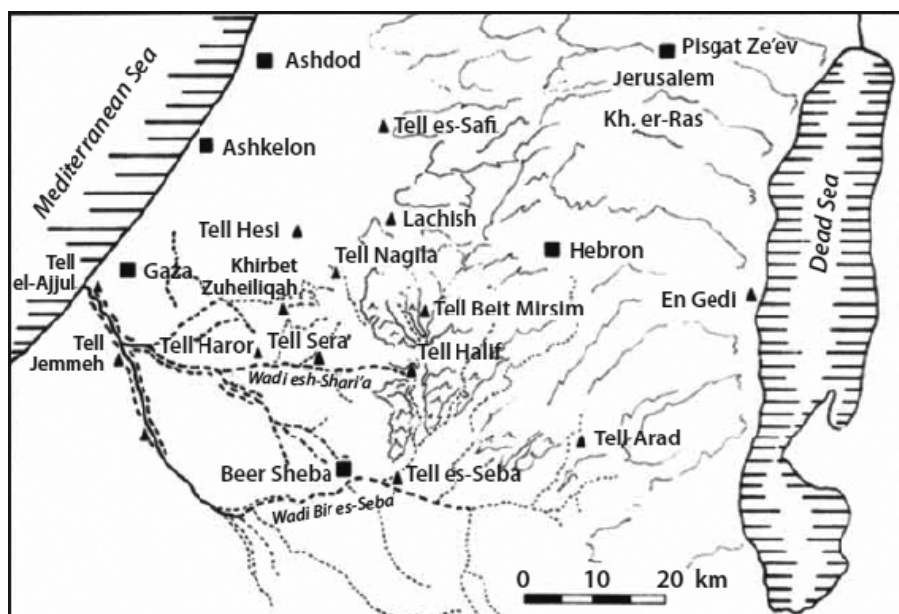


Figure 3.1 Map of Iron II settlements. *Source:* Lahav Research Project (www.cobbmsstate.edu/digmaster).

The archaeological question at hand is, Are there differences in domestic food-preparation techniques in Iron IIB-C Judah between urban and rural environments? A household archaeological approach that includes spatial analysis and Goody's food-preparation paradigm is one possible method to help to answer that question by focusing on the dwelling and household, the artifacts within the dwelling, and the activities and behavior of its members. A micro-sensitive attitude will lead us to consider more closely the household stage where daily life occurred, including the preparation of food.

Fortified settlement 1 – Tel Lachish: Iron IIB stratum

Background

Tel Lachish (also known as Tell ed-Duweir in Arabic) is a large mound of about 18 acres (at its summit) to 31 acres (at its base)¹ which is located in the shephelah of Judah, with the coastal plain to the west and the Hebron hills to the east. Lachish's water sources included the Nahal Lachish (or Wadi Ghafr) along with several wells. Tell ed-Duweir was first identified as Lachish by W.F. Albright and this equation has been accepted by most archaeologists and biblical scholars. Lachish was first excavated in 1932 by the Wellcome-Marston expedition led by J.L. Starkey. Unfortunately, the first excavations at Lachish were cut short in 1938 due to the murder of Starkey. Yohanan Aharoni resumed excavations, although only at the so-called "solar shrine," in 1966 and 1968 through the sponsorship of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem and then through Tel Aviv University. Full excavations resumed in 1973 with D. Ussishkin of Tel Aviv University, which ended in 1987; the site is now an archaeological park. The subsequent excavations have unearthed evidence for the nearly continuous occupation of Lachish from the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze I Age through to the Hellenistic period. Excavation reports have been published for all expeditions, including final reports in monograph form from the final excavation led by Ussishkin.²

After a gap of occupation during Iron Age I, settlement began again in the early Iron Age IIA (ca. 1000–900 BCE; strata V and IV) and this site was formally fortified later in that same period. The settlement was destroyed by an unknown cause around 760 BCE. David Ussishkin agrees with M. Kochavi³ that an earthquake destroyed the Iron IIA settlement, not Pharaoh Shoshenq I, since there are no remains of destruction caused by fire.⁴ In the early Iron IIB period (ca. 900–700 BCE; stratum III), the fortified settlement of Lachish was re-established only to be destroyed again by the Assyrian campaign led by Sennacherib in 701 BCE. Lachish was abandoned after its destruction until the Iron IIC period when it was re-established as a fortified settlement (ca. 700–586 BCE; stratum II), albeit a poorer and weaker version of its former self. Lachish was again destroyed by the Babylonian campaign led by Nebuchadnezzar in 588/6 BCE.⁵

Description of Level III lower dwelling east

For the purposes of this research, Lachish's Iron Age Levels III (Iron Age IIB) and II (Iron Age IIC) in Area S with its domestic dwellings will be focused upon. Area S contained the most complete dwellings found thus far at Lachish. These dwellings were built in relation to the formal fortifications of the settlement: the main settlement wall and the enclosure wall.⁶ The construction of the dwellings began in Level IVA and retained the same basic outline through Levels IVA and III.⁷ If this research were concerned with the entire Iron II period, Level IVB would have been an appropriate level with which to begin the spatial analysis of the chosen dwelling; however, this research is concerned with the later portions of the Iron II periods, namely Iron IIB and C. Moreover, stratum IVB has no level of destruction and scant remains, pottery or otherwise, upon its floors.⁸ The stratum II occupation did not restore the dwelling plans of Levels IV and III due to the intensity of the Assyrian destruction.⁹ The Iron IIB material, stratum III, is more extensive and will be the first stratum of analysis. It is also important to note that Level III (Iron IIB) is contemporaneous with the VIB dwelling at Tel Halif, the second fortified settlement chosen for this project, while Lachish's Level II (Iron IIC) is contemporaneous with Halif's VIA stratum.

The subsequent level, Level II, only produced a meager amount of material in Area S. Ussishkin writes that "the gap between the destruction of Level III and the construction of Level II must have been longer, for the builders of Level II were not acquainted with and did not attempt to restore the spatial organization of the previous level." Even though the builders of the dwellings in Level II utilized the "stumps" of Level III's walls that stuck out through its debris, in fact the occupational surfaces of Level II, and its subsequent debris, were laid horizontally upon Level III's thick debris.¹⁰ A survey of the scant remains available of the Level II (Iron IIC) dwelling will be provided in order to be consistent with the analysis of the dwellings in the Iron IIC farmsteads.

The dwellings in Level III retained the same basic layout as Level IVA with some changes, including the reconstruction of dwellings on more terrace-like levels, the addition of subdivisions, and several installations.¹¹ The dwelling on the lowest terrace (what Ussishkin calls the "lower house") will be the focus of attention here simply because, out of all the dwellings in Level III in this area, its architecture is the best preserved and thus the easiest to analyze spatially.

Like many dwellings within the walls of the settlement, the lower dwelling used the formal fortifications as part of its own architecture. The enclosure wall was utilized as the northern exterior wall and the main settlement wall as its western exterior wall. According to Ussishkin, two wings, one in the east and the other the west, make up the lower dwelling. However, no entrances have been found in the dividing wall (Wall 42) between the two "wings"; both have their own outside entrances.¹² It is possible that these two wings could be separate dwellings or part of an extended family complex. The basic outline

of the dwelling is reminiscent of the Iron Age-style dwelling. Ussishkin writes that “A basic similarity to the layout of the so-called four-room house [i.e. the Iron Age style] is apparent in the plans of the two wings of the structure, though its location in the corner formed by the city and enclosure walls apparently forced its planners to deviate from it.”¹³

According to Ussishkin, together both wings have ten separate units or rooms that include courtyards; the two front rooms of the eastern wing he interprets as partially unroofed courtyards. However, it must be noted that the theory of an open-courtyard space within the dwelling is not widely held due to several factors: first, a large opening in the groundfloor roof would have been impractical. It is commonly thought that the Iron Age dwelling had a second floor; this second floor would have had significantly less support if the largest first-floor room were unroofed.¹⁴ Second, a large opening would allow heat to escape the ground level; this would have been unwise during the colder months of winter. Third, destruction debris including beams used for roofing is often found (and indeed was found in the rooms in question) on top of the floors of the ground level, thus sealing the artifacts on the floor. On top of or in this destruction debris domestic pottery and other artifacts have often been found, implying there was a roof and living space above, not to mention the question of whether or not a dwelling *within*, let alone part of or adjacent to, the fortifications would have had an unroofed part of the actual dwelling.

I am not convinced that what Ussishkin has labeled the main building consists of two wings of one dwelling. There is no opening in the shared wall (Wall 42) of the so-called eastern and western wings, nor was there one in its earlier Levels IVA and IVB. Therefore, I have chosen to view this main structure as two separate dwellings, the eastern dwelling and the western dwelling. Regardless, Ussishkin’s room assignments are also unclear. I have therefore chosen to focus on the eastern dwelling because its interior architecture and room divisions are more apparent than those in the western dwelling. I have concluded that the eastern dwelling had five groundfloor rooms (labeled rooms one through five), one of which is an outside courtyard. A detailed description of each room in the eastern dwelling will be offered below.

Room One. Room One (Locus 3561) is the first of two front rooms in the eastern dwelling of what Ussishkin labeled “the lower house” in Level III. Ussishkin interprets this room as an unroofed courtyard (see discussion above). Room One has a main entrance into the outer courtyard and has a second entrance leading into Room Two (Locus 3543). It does not, however, have access to Room Four that sits directly on its northern side. The floor of Room One was stone-paved and sealed with mud-brick debris that included domestic pottery vessels. It is unclear from Ussishkin’s report if the pottery vessels listed in the room were on the floor or part of the pottery vessels that he mentioned were in the mud-brick collapse that sealed the floor, which suggests that Room One was not an open courtyard, as Ussishkin suggests; rather, the collapse indicates that it was a roofed room with domestic living quarters above. A burnt wooden beam about 80 cm long and 5 cm in diameter could have been part of the roof material.¹⁵

Finds in Room One include: 1 bowl, 2 cooking vessels, 1 juglet, 1 lamp, 2 storage jars, 1 cylindrical clay object, 1 iron arrowhead, 1 iron fish-hook fragment, 2 spindle whorls, 1 model wheel, 7 millstones, 1 echinus fossil, 1 flint sickle segment, 2 mollusk shells, 5 wood samples (probably from doorway posts), 1 food remains (olive pit), and 13 animal remains (1 *bos* [cattle], 12 *caprine* [sheep and goats]).¹⁶ One of the cooking vessels is of the large bowl/pot type typical of Late Bronze and Iron Age Canaan (what will be labeled as traditional or the “Canaanite” pot simply to distinguish it from the Philistine jug), while the other is a combination (or what D. Ben-Shlomo et al. classify as a hybrid form) of the Philistine jug and the Canaanite pot, with a more closed mouth, short neck, two loop handles that extend from the rim to the shoulder with two horizontal stripes on it, and a rounded base (see [Figs 3.8c](#) and [3.8d](#) [left]).¹⁷ Room One consists of one activity area labeled, activity Area A.

Activity in Area A is based on the architectural features and remains found *in situ* in Room One. The most distinguishing characteristic of Room One is its stone-paved floor. This floor, along with the many animal bones and the fact that it is segregated from the rest of the dwelling, indicates that Room One functioned primarily as part of the household stable. It is thought that household animals would have been brought inside the dwelling at night for their protection and to help insulate the home when it was cold outside.¹⁸ A stone or brick floor would be solid enough to allow for the continued trampling of heavy animals, for the easy removal of animal bedding and waste, and would allow urine to seep into the cracks (no floor samples sent for analysis were reported, unfortunately).¹⁹ Having access to Room One from the outside would allow the household to bring the animals in or out with more ease. The opening in the wall separating Room One from Room Two (Wall 15) is narrow enough to allow a partition wall to further enclose the animals while keeping a watchful eye on them. The second main entrance leading into Room Two from outside would still allow household members access to the

rest of the dwelling without disturbing the animals. Even though the dwelling is within the settlement walls, the smaller domestic animals such as goats, sheep, and donkeys could have easily been housed within the household stable, while larger animals such as cows and oxen could have been stored outside the fortifications in the settlement's various agricultural buildings. Unfortunately, no indication of soil samples sent for analysis has been found to confirm this theory. An alternative theory is that paved rooms functioned as storage rooms. It has been suggested that cobblestone floors were also used to help to keep storage jars upright.²⁰ By placing the jar by the wall and grinding its base into the sediment between the stones, the jars would have remained upright.

The other remains must be accounted for, however. If the pottery vessels listed in the room were on the floor, these vessels (bowl, cooking vessels, juglet, jug, lamp, and storage jars), coupled with the many whole and fragmented millstones, could indicate that Room One was also used for storage. It would be less likely that the preparation of food took place since there were no cooking installations found within Room One. If the vessels were part of the mud-brick collapse then it would be safe to assume that the activities that took place in Room One were primarily the care of the household animals and the vessels were from the second-floor living quarters or from wall storage shelves.

Room Two. Room Two (Locus 3543) is the second of two front rooms in the eastern dwelling. One of the main entrances to the dwelling opened into Room Two and had entrances that led into Room One to the west and Room Three to the north. The base of a circular *tabun* was found in the southeastern part of the room. Room Two had a packed-earth floor with numerous examples of domestic pottery and other types of vessels sealed by destruction debris. Finds on the floor include: 4 bowls, 2 cooking vessels, 1 jug, 1 juglet, 1 storage jar, 1 arrowhead, 1 fragmented bone spatula, 1 spinning whorl, 1 weight, 3 loom weights, 1 limestone mortar fragment, 6 millstones, 2 objects of unspecified stone, 1 flint sickle segment, 1 food remains (olive pit), and 7 animal bones (*caprine* [sheep and goats]).

The cooking vessels found in Room Two contained features of both the Philistine cooking jug and traditional Canaanite cooking pot – or the hybrid form.²¹ The hybrid form resembles a jug in that the mouth of the vessel was closed (the mouth of the vessel was smaller than the widest part of the body of the vessel), more so than its cooking-pot counterpart. The hybrid vessel narrowed (but was not as narrow as the Philistine cooking jug of the Iron I period) at the neck, with two handles extending from the rim to the shoulder, rounding at the bottom (see [Fig. 3.8b](#)). Ruth Amiran notes,

Another type [of a cooking pot] has until now been found exclusively in the south; the evidence indicates that its development is not earlier than the 8th century. This is a deep cooking-pot almost as wide as it is high,

with a well-developed neck, and two handles drawn from the rim to the shoulder. The neck is often ridged all over.²²

The volume capacity of a Philistine jug or hybrid pot would have been limited to smaller amounts and/or liquid foodstuffs, such as porridge or gruel. Larger foodstuffs, such as meat, would not have fit into the smaller cooking vessels (unless it was a small amount of meat and was finely butchered) and would have been cooked in the larger, open-mouthed cooking pot or over an open fire.

Like Room One, Ussishkin interprets this room as an unroofed courtyard.²³ But the collapsed debris found in Room Two is more than likely from the roof and the second floor, which would render an indoor, open courtyard unlikely. Room Two consists of two activity areas labeled Areas B and C.

Activity Area B centers on the circular *tabun* and its surrounding area in the southeastern part of the room. The *tabun*, coupled with pottery vessels and other types of remains, indicates that one of the primary activities that occurred in Room Two was food preparation. Indicators other than the *tabun* include bowls, cooking vessels, a jug, juglet, storage jar, spatula, limestone mortar fragment, millstones, and food and animal remains. The *tabun* itself is a clear indicator of food preparation, but together with the remains mentioned above it is obvious that one of the main functions of Room Two included food preparation. Dwellings may have had more than one food-preparation area, but the *tabun* in Area B is a clear indicator that some sort of food preparation (assembling and cooking/baking) occurred here.

It is possible to narrow the scope even further by observing that the type of oven found in Room Two was not just a cooking installation but a *tabun* thought to cook bread.²⁴ The opening at the top of the oven not only would have served as an entrance through which to place the dough inside the oven but could also have been narrow enough to allow a small cooking vessel to be seated. The smaller, round-bottomed hybrid cooking pots found alongside the *tabun* would have fit the space admirably. The morning meal of porridge or gruel would have been made from the same cereal used to bake bread. This, along with the mortar fragment and millstones, could be clues that bread production, as well as other daily food preparation, was a common activity in this area. Cereal remains would strengthen this argument, but no such remains were found in this room. The storage jars indicate it was also used for storage; there is a strong possibility that foodstuffs were stored near the food-preparation areas.

Activity Area C makes up the northern part of Room Two in which a sizeable group of clay loom weights were found, many of which fell apart during excavation; three remained intact. The weights, coupled with the spinning whorl, weight, and possibly some objects of unspecified stone, indicate that weaving activities also took place in this room. While the lack of evidence of a wooden weaving loom is not abnormal (since most wood erodes

over time), it could indicate that loom weights were produced or possibly just stored in this room. What is certain, however, is that some sort of activity relating to weaving took place regularly in Room Two. The room's central location makes it an ideal place to conduct various household activities, such as cooking and weaving. The pairing of cooking with other activities is a logical assumption since most cooking was stewed over long periods and would thus allow the household members to take on other household tasks.

Room Three. Room Three (Locus 3529) is located in the northeastern part of the eastern dwelling and abuts the settlement's enclosure wall. Access to Room Three is gained from its southern entrance in Room Two and Room Three provides the only access to the northwestern room – Room Four. An installation in the form of two semicircles of stones was located in the northeastern corner of Room Three, abutting the enclosure wall. No ash remains in either semicircle were reported. The packed-earth floor was sealed by mud-brick debris and contained the following remains: 6 bowls, 1 krater, 2 cooking vessels, 2 juglets, 3 lamps, 1 storage jar with spout, 2 clay sherds possibly reused as buttons, 4 iron arrowheads, 1 bronze needle, 1 bronze anklet, 1 bronze fibula, 1 bronze disk, 1 iron knife blade, 1 limestone stopper, 1 carnelian bead, 8 worked astragali, 3 millstone fragments, 2 cylinder-shaped limestone objects, 1 textile fragment, 1 flint sickle segment, 5 mollusk shells, 1 possible piece of wood furniture (olive wood), 9 other wood samples (2 acacia, 1 kermes oak, and 5 olive), 7 food remains (6 olive pits and 1 vicia seed), and 33 animal bones (5 *bos* [cattle] and 28 *caprine* [sheep and goats]).²⁵

The two cooking vessels found in Room Three represent the hybrid pot and the more traditional “Canaanite” pot (see Fig. 3.8a). The traditional pot was an open-mouth vessel, short and wide, with two handles that extended down from the rim to the body of the vessel, and a rounded bottom. The hybrid pot is typical of the Philistine/Canaanite combination in that it is taller than the pot, with a closed mouth, two handles extending from the rim to the shoulder, a rounded bottom, and decorated with three horizontal stripes on or near the shoulder of the jug.²⁶ Room Three consists of two activity areas labeled D and E.

Activity Areas D and E are based on the architectural features and finds found *in situ* in Room Three. Activity Area D centers on the stone installation in the northeastern corner of Room Three that was constructed of two semicircles of small stones. The installation was found covered with mud-brick debris;²⁷ no ash, discoloration of soil, or remains from inside the installation were reported. The installation, along with the krater, cooking vessels, juglet, storage jar with spout, stopper, millstone fragments, flint sickle, food and animal remains, indicate that at least one of the activities that occurred in Room Three was food preparation. The type of cooking installation found seems to indicate that cooking rather than baking was done in this room.²⁸ The open installation would allow the Canaanite cooking pot, as well as the newer hybrid pot, to sit in or on top of the cooking installation

while providing easy access to both the fire and the food. The larger installation and pot would have been ideal for the larger items or larger quantities, the hybrid and jug for smaller.

Room Three also seems to have been used as a living-room space where games were played and food was consumed, and is consequently assigned a second activity area, Area E. A possible piece of furniture, a textile fragment, lamps, and worked astragali, coupled with items of personal adornment (such as buttons, needle, anklet, fibula, and bead), indicate that members of the household used this space as a communal living room. The bowls, lamps, storage jar with spout, and food and animal remains also suggest that after the food was prepared in activity Area D, it was consumed in activity Area E.

Room Four. Room Four (Locus 3582) was located in the northwest corner of the eastern dwelling of the lower house. It was built abutting the settlement's enclosure wall and was only accessible through one entrance in Room Three. Cut into the earthen floor in the center of the room was a circular pit (1 m in diameter and 20 cm deep) that contained sherds of pottery. Both the floor and pit were sealed by mud-brick debris. Remains on the floor include: 1 bowl, 1 krater, 4 cooking vessels, 1 black juglet, 1 hole-mouth jar, 7 storage jars (including 2 stamped royal storage jars), 2 figurine pieces, 2 millstone fragments, 1 tripod bowl, 1 limestone object with depression, 5 wood samples (1 elm, 4 olive), and 5 food remains (2 figs, 2 olive pits, and 1 wheat). The cooking vessels in Room Four (2 large, 1 medium, and 1 small) are all of the hybrid type: a more jug-like body with a closed mouth, narrow neck, loop handles that start at the rim and end at the shoulder, and a rounded base (see [Figs 3.8e and 3.8f](#)).²⁹ Room Four consists of one activity area labeled activity Area F.

The isolated location, the pit containing fragmented pottery vessels, the numerous storage jars, and the carbonized grain and fig remains suggest that the primary activity of Area F was storage. The lack of animal remains suggests that this room was not used for food preparation. However, Ussishkin does not interpret this room as a storage room. He writes, "Judging from its nature and its place in the house, the room would not appear to have functioned as a storeroom of any sort, and hence the pottery, including the royal storage jars, was domestic."³⁰ While I agree with his assessment that the structure is domestic, it is unclear why Ussishkin asserts that Room Four was not a domestic storeroom and why he provides no alternative function. Domestic structures, especially ones within the confines of the settlement fortifications, would have used one of the rooms (oftentimes one of the back rooms) as a place to store food, drink, and other household items. Oded Borowski writes,

The facility identified here as a private storeroom is one which is part of a dwelling unit, as opposed to a public storeroom, which is attached to a public building ... excavations at several sites revealed that certain

rooms in the Israelite house were indeed used for storage of agricultural produce. Sometimes, part of the private storeroom was used for other activities, such as grinding flour and cooking. Food was stored in jars in private storerooms. I assume that the agricultural produce kept in these rooms was for the daily use of the families residing in these houses.³¹

The jars and pits were common storage methods and suggest that Room Four functioned as a domestic storage room. However, the stamped royal storage jars imply that Room Four's storage activities were more than meets the eye. Stamped royal storage jars have been the focus of much research and it has been suggested that these jars were manufactured as part of King Hezekiah's preparations against the forthcoming Assyrian army.³² Lachish was a very important government center and would have stockpiled food and weapons during the Assyrian threat. What is not clear is to whom these storage jars belonged or were given – were they given to Judahite officials or to the average inhabitants of Lachish? The only thing that can be stated with any certainty is that two stamped royal storage jars were found in Room Four of the eastern lower dwelling in Level III Lachish. Perhaps a Judahite official lived in this dwelling. Perhaps ordinary inhabitants of Lachish lived in this dwelling and were given provisions for the Assyrian siege. Or possibly the house was occupied by local officials or soldiers during the Assyrian siege. Whatever the case may be, Room Four was used as a storage room, whether in domestic and/or official siege-time capacities.

Room Five. An outdoor courtyard (Locus 3560) that is part of the dwelling is designated as Room Five. Courtyards were just as much part of the dwelling as any indoor room would have been; consequently, providing it with a room number is justified. Access to the dwelling was gained through the two main entries from Room Five into Rooms One and Two. Room Five had two enclosure or partition walls (Walls 76 and 7) and a stone-paved floor that contained a small, rectangular unit or installation (Locus 3636) abutting Wall 31 between the two entrances into the house. The remains found on the floor of Room Five include: 2 bowls, 1 cooking vessel, 2 juglets, 3 lamps, 3 storage jars (2 of which were unstamped royal storage jars), 5 iron arrowheads, 1 flat-bottomed flint pestle/slingstone, 1 bone spatula, 1 pendant-amulet, 1 fourth-third-century bronze coin (obviously out of context), 3 millstones, 3 wood samples (olive wood from doorpost beams), and 18 animal remains (7 *bos* [cattle] and 11 *caprine* [sheep and goats]).³³ The cooking vessel found in Room Five is of the hybrid cooking type with a closed mouth, a narrow neck with two handles that extend from the rim to the shoulder, a rounded bottom, and is decorated with crosses on its handle and two horizontal lines on its shoulder (see [Fig. 3.8d](#) [right]).³⁴ Based on volume capacity alone, the hybrid pot would be utilized for cooking smaller quantities or more liquid-type foodstuffs.³⁵

The installation (Locus 3636) found in Room Five was walled on all four

sides and had no opening, but a large, flat-lying stone was at the bottom of it; this led Ussishkin to wonder if the installation was the remains of a staircase that would have led to the second floor.³⁶ However, other remains inside the installation included: several stones, 1 EB hole-mouth jar fragment, 1 entire bowl, 1 hole-mouth jar, 1 Mycenaean IB globular vessel fragment, 1 iron arrowhead, 1 worked gazelle astragalus, 4 millstone fragments, 10 mollusk shells, 3 wood samples (1 kermes oak and 2 olive), 1 food remains (olive pit), 1 fish bone (*drums*), and 54 animal remains (4 *bos* [cattle], 47 *caprine* [sheep and goats], 1 pig, 1 bird, and 1 gazelle).³⁷ Consequently, I am hesitant to label the installation as the remains of a staircase, when in fact access to the second floor could have been by a wooden ladder that would not have survived the fiery destruction. Room Five has one activity area labeled activity Area H.

Activity Area H is based on the architectural features and finds found *in situ* in Room Five. It is possible that the installation or unit was the foundation for a staircase; however, this interpretation does not take the remains found inside into consideration. The large quantity of animal bones (54) and the bottom stone slab could indicate that this was an installation used for food preparation. The remains found in the courtyard (the cooking pot, storage jars, millstone, spatula, and the animal remains), coupled with the fact that no other cooking installation was uncovered outside, could suggest that activity Area H was for food preparation.³⁸ However, an alternate possibility is that the courtyard next door had several cooking installations (L. 3533 and L. 3609)³⁹ and was only separated from Room Five by a low dividing wall. It is possible that the two dwellings shared the outdoor cooking installations found in western dwellings and the installation found in Room Five was used as a refuse pit.

In Mediterranean climates, it is common to find ovens or cooking installations outside that would have been used in the hot summer months. The ovens inside the house would be used during the winter months to help heat the dwelling, while the outside ovens would have been used in the summer months in order to keep the dwelling cool.⁴⁰ It is for this same reason that the courtyard was thought to function as a second living room in the hot summer months. Daily activities such as grinding grain and cooking would have been performed in the courtyard in the hope of escaping the stale, hot air inside the dwelling.

Summary

The Iron IIB house at Lachish under investigation in this study demonstrates what domestic daily life would have been like for a household in an urban atmosphere. Having attempted to make use of the small amount of space available, the dwelling was built into or abutting the settlement's fortification walls and consisted of two floors. It had both indoor and outdoor activity areas. Most of the artifacts found in the Lachish dwelling were related to the storage, preparation, and consumption of food. This clearly demonstrates why

the investigation into households and the preparation of food is significant. The Level III house suggests that households had cooking installations both in the dwelling and in the courtyard, which may have been communal. The cooking within the dwelling could have been done in two different areas, one for bread and smaller, more liquid items cooked in the cooking jugs and the other for larger, non-grain items such as meat roasted or cooked in the larger, open-mouthed traditional cooking pot.

It must be noted, however, that Level III Lachish was destroyed after a siege, which could complicate the research into its daily life, gastronomical or otherwise. The remains of daily life in Level III could be unusual due to the Assyrian siege upon Lachish. On the other hand, even the abnormal use of technology and techniques reflects, in one way or another, some normality. Certainly traditional uses of household items were retained as newer, unconventional uses were improvised during a siege. Hopefully, the later investigation into the Iron IIB stratum at a second fortified settlement, Tel Halif, will clarify these findings.

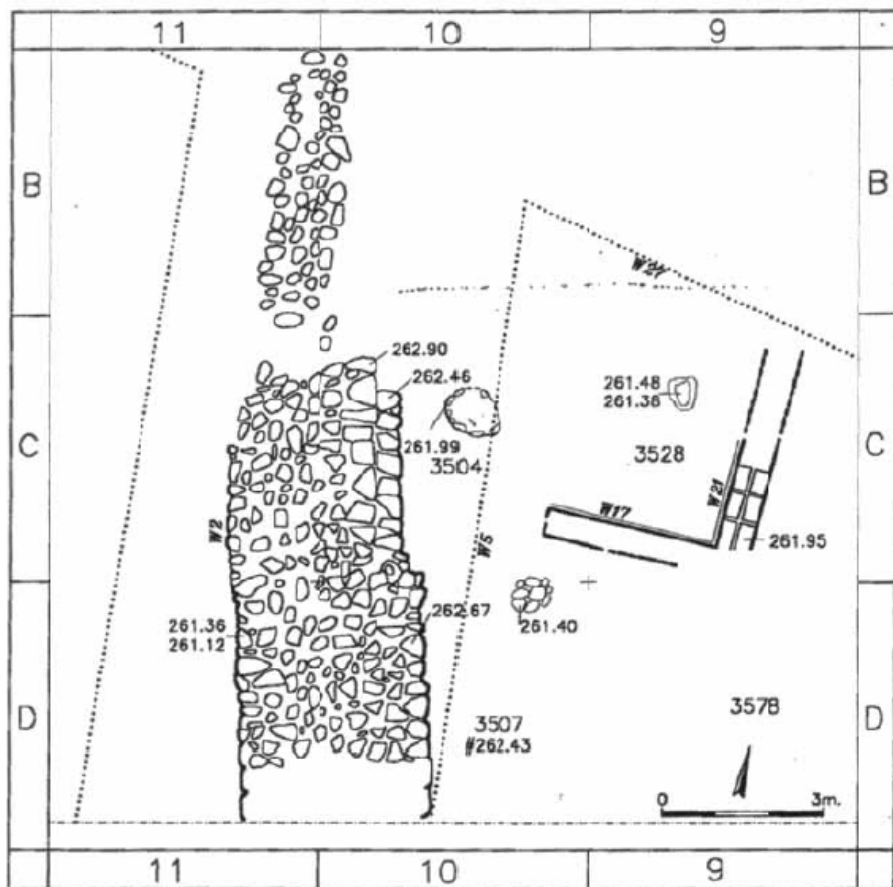


Figure 3.3 Iron IIC dwelling at Tel Lachish. *Source:* Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University (Ussishkin, *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, II, 458).

Fortified settlement 1 – Tel Lachish: Iron IIC stratum

Lachish's Iron IIC level is labeled in its final publication as Level II. Most of its Iron IIC remains were not found in the previously analyzed Area S but in the Gate Complex (Area GE). However, there is only one definitive (if the word can be used) dwelling and it is located in Area S where only occupational surfaces of "poorly constructed and badly preserved dwellings" were found.⁴¹ The Level II remains were damaged by invasive Muslim graves and by the Israel Defense Forces in 1948. The Level II inhabitants were not acquainted with and, in general, did not restore the spatial organization of the Level III dwellings. Ussishkin suggests that, after the destruction of Level III Lachish by the Assyrian campaign in 701 BCE, Level II was constructed during the time of Josiah and was subsequently destroyed by the Neo-Babylonian campaign in 587/6 BCE.⁴²

The meager remains of the Level II dwelling were the only structures, beside the formal fortification wall, found in Area S. The dwelling architectural remains include two poorly built plastered mud-brick walls interspersed with stones (W21 and W17) and were built on top of the remains of Level III's mud-brick walls (W41 and W42) of the western house (or "wing" as Ussishkin labels it) in the lowest terraced house.⁴³ Ussishkin notes that the Level II dwelling was not orientated to the Level II fortification wall; rather, it was orientated to follow the Level III fortification walls (W2 and W27).⁴⁴ As the plan of Level II illustrates, the remains of one almost complete room has been found (Locus 3528). However, it can be assumed that the areas in its immediate vicinity were part of this same dwelling. Consequently, this spatial analysis will consist of an examination of the remains according to the few loci given to this Level II dwelling.

Locus 3528 is the only identified room in the dwelling and is located above Level III's Locus 3573. Remains found within the room include only one large basin made of soft white limestone. The activity area designation is difficult to assign with only one find. Furthermore, basins had numerous domestic functions, including food preparation, hygiene, and cultic, which makes identifying the activities performed in this room impossible.⁴⁵

Locus 3504 was labeled after the removal of stone debris from Walls W2 and W50 (W50 belonged to Level I, the Persian Period). Contemporary occupational surfaces with pottery were found located above the Level III debris of Loci L. 3569 and L. 3572. Locus 3504 contained the greatest number of artifactual remains found *in situ*: one circular *tabun* (72 cm in diameter) lined with potsherds; one circular pit (50 cm in diameter) lined with mud plaster; 2 Roman-Byzantine ribbed storage jar fragments; 1 clay bowl base reused as a lid; 1 solid foot of a clay figurine; 1 iron ring (perhaps part of an animal harness); 1 iron arrowhead; 2 iron knife blades; 1 bone spindle whorl; 1 complete millstone and 1 millstone fragment; 1 flint pestle; 1 fragment of a basalt tripod bowl; 1 jug; 2 storage jars; 1 hole-mouth jar; 1

food sample (olive pits); and one fish bone (Nile perch). Based on the remains and features found, Locus 3504 has two, possibly three, activity areas labeled A, B, and C.

The *tabun*, lid, millstones, pestle, and food remains clearly indicate that food was prepared in activity Area A. Ussishkin questions whether the tripod bowl is indeed a bowl. Since a pestle was also found it could be the mortar of the pestle and mortar duo, which are normally three-legged. If this tripod bowl were a mortar this would also be another food-preparation indicator. However, if the tripod bowl is paired with the figurine, its usage could have been cultic. The knife blades could also point to food preparation, but, coupled with the arrowhead, they could be the remains of battle.

Spindle whorls were used for weaving and suggest that activity Area B was dedicated to that task. A third possible activity area (Area C) could be an area dedicated to cultic activity. The figurine fragment and tripod bowl often suggest household religious activity. The only explanation for the two fragments of Roman-Byzantine pottery is as a result of formation processes. That Locus 3504 has numerous activities in this area suggests that this part of the dwelling was used as the multi-functional “living room” often found in Iron Age-style houses.

Locus 3507 is a Level II occupational surface over the dwelling’s Level III outdoor courtyard. The plaster floor is ca. 2 cm thick with an accumulation of ca. 30 cm of earth and fallen plaster over which laid the debris of Level II and I city walls (Level II-W2 and Level I-W50). The Israel Defense Forces destroyed the southwest side of the surface in 1948. Ussishkin notes that the few fragments of pottery found belong to both Level II and Level I including: 1 chocolate-on-white ware bowl fragment, 1 iron nail, 1 multi-faceted flint swing stone, and 1 flint, large geometric sickle blade. If Level III’s outline is of any help here, this room could also have been an outdoor courtyard. The sickle blade indicates agriculture, so possibly this area stored the household’s agricultural tools. However, the sling stone indicates military activity. Perhaps the sickle was also used in self-defense. Ussishkin notes that sling stones could also be used in domestic contexts as “grinding stones, pestles, and scale weights, and as sling stones in times of emergency.” The bowl fragment could indicate food consumption. The small number of finds coupled with their differing uses, including uncharacteristic uses during a battle or siege, make it difficult to ascertain what the possible function(s) was.

Locus 3578 is a large robber pit that displaced mud-brick debris from Level III’s loci 3561 and 3583. Ussishkin argues that “The main evidence for its stratigraphic attribution to Level II is the fact that pit 3522 of Level I was dug into its fill.” Remains include: 1 bronze knife blade, 1 limestone flywheel or digging stick weight, 1 iron and bone handle, 1 upper millstone, and 1 hard limestone pestle. Robber pits have no function.

Summary

Overall, there are very few domestic remains found in Iron IIC Lachish. What has been found has been analyzed spatially as best as possible. Evidence of food preparation has been found in Locus 3504 where the *tabun*, pestle, mortar, millstones, and food remains were recovered. Unfortunately, no cooking vessels were found. Therefore, a comparison of cooking pots from Lachish's Iron IIB to Iron IIC stratum is not feasible.

Fortified settlement 2 – Tel Halif: Iron IIB stratum

Background

Tel Halif (also known as Tell Khuweilifeh in Arabic) is a 7.5-acre mound located on the southwestern side of the hills of Judah, about 16 km (10 miles) north of Beersheba.⁴⁶ Its views include the shephelah and the Philistine plain to the west and the Negev to the south. Natural water sources include Wadi esh-Shari'a. Halif was situated on a major road that led to important towns like Jerusalem and Hebron, located further into the Judean hills. The debate over Halif's biblical name is ongoing.⁴⁷

Archaeological exploration began at Tel Halif in the 1950s and consisted of site surveys by members of the local kibbutz, Kibbutz Lahav, and irregular salvage excavations that provided evidence of occupation of the mound from the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age I period through the Late Byzantine periods, including modern habitation during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries by Arab communities. These excavations were directed by: A. Biran and R. Gophna in 1970, R. Gophna in 1972, J.D. Seger in 1972 on behalf of the Hebrew Union College, and D. Alon in 1974 on behalf of the Israel Department of Antiquities. Consistent excavations of Tel Halif began with the establishment of the Lahav Research Project in 1976. Under the direction of Joe D. Seger, the Lahav Research Project consists of various American scholars and institutions that participate in the study of Tel Halif and its surrounding region.⁴⁸ So far, the Lahav regional research has been divided into four phases: 1976–80 (phase I), 1983–89 (phase II), and 1992–99 (phase III). The current phase IV began in 2007 under the supervision of Emory University.⁴⁹ Excavation results from as early as 1967 have been published in various journals as well as the massive amount of information the Lahav Research Project made available online on Dig Master. Since the Lahav project at Halif is ongoing, no final reports have been published, which has the potential to make research complicated and problematic. On the other hand, waiting until the final reports have been published before research commences is also impractical. What this means, however, is that there will be less data available for the spatial analysis of a house at Halif versus Lachish.

Tel Halif was an unfortified settlement until the Early Bronze III period (strata XV–XII), when large fortification walls were built. These fortifications

and the settlement were destroyed at the end of the Early Bronze period (stratum XII ca. 2400 BCE). Halif lay unoccupied until the Late Bronze IA (stratum XI ca. 1500 BCE) when it was resettled as an unfortified settlement. In the Iron II (stratum VIB ca. 800 BCE) period, substantial fortifications were rebuilt. It was during this time that Halif grew and prospered. Like Lachish, Halif was destroyed by the Assyrian campaign against Judah in ca. 701 BCE. Resettlement appears to have been as a brief squatter phase (stratum VIA) during the first quarter of the seventh century, after which it lay abandoned until the Persian era (stratum V).⁵⁰

Description of Level VI dwelling

The Iron II period levels at Halif fall within strata VIA–VID (ca. 900–680 BCE) and have been found mostly in fields II–IV. For purposes of this research, Field IV’s stratum VIB (ca. 700–650 BCE) will be under investigation for the following reasons: (1) stratum VIB is contemporaneous with the Level III dwelling at Tel Lachish, the first fortified settlement chosen for this project; (2) Halif was at its peak during this time and has left behind a vast amount of domestic architecture and artifacts in Field IV; and (3) stratum VIB was subsequently destroyed by the Assyrian campaign and this destruction has sealed or preserved these same domestic structures and artifacts. A survey of the scant remains available of the VIA (Iron IIC) dwelling will be provided in order to be consistent with the analysis of the dwellings in the Iron IIC farmsteads.

James Hardin argues that the inhabitants of Halif abandoned the settlement before it was destroyed by fire and that when it was resettled, “In some instances [e.g. Field IV dwellings], destruction debris was not removed but merely leveled and covered by the VIA floors, thereby sealing the VIB remains.”⁵¹ Even though many formation processes and later resettlement occurred, most of stratum VIB’s remains were found just as they were at the time of the abandonment and destruction. Hardin continues by stating,

Because Tell Halif was abandoned rapidly and the remains were not disturbed severely by later natural and cultural processes, the artifacts preserved in the stratum VIB remains provided excellent data for reconstructing domestic activities that took place in the structures re-exposed through excavation in Field IV.⁵²

With the exception of how daily life was modified during a siege, the sealed dwellings allow for a greater reliability in understanding what life was like at this time. Three to four dwellings have been excavated in Field IV’s stratum VIB, two of which were mostly complete – these have been designated as the northern and southern dwellings. Hardin has completed an in-depth spatial analysis of the northern dwelling;⁵³ therefore, this research will focus on the southern dwelling.

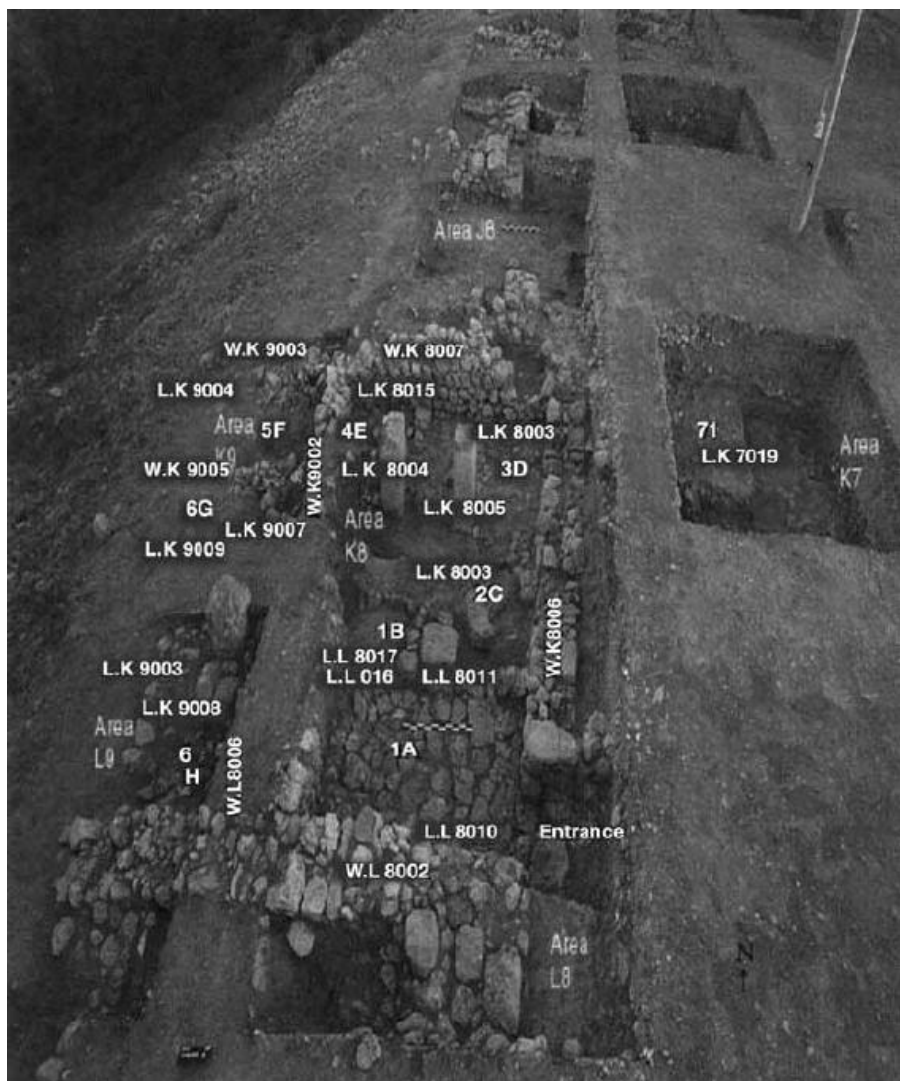


Figure 3.4 Iron IIB dwelling at Tel Halif. *Source:* Lahav Research Project (www.cobbmsstate.edu/digmaster).

It can be assumed that the Iron II dwellings were relatively new and did not follow any previous structural outline since Halif was only modestly occupied after the destruction of the fortified Early Bronze III settlement. In addition, the fortifications of Halif were not rebuilt until the Iron II period and were used as part of the architecture of the dwellings in question. Once excavated, it was found that the southern dwelling was mostly complete, with the exception of the western limit that had eroded down the slope of the tell due to natural formation processes.⁵⁴ The dwelling follows the design of the Iron Age style with three long rooms in the front (the eastern half of the dwelling)

and one broad room in the back (the western half of the dwelling). The floors of the house contained numerous domestic remains sealed by the destruction debris from the roof and domestic remains from the second floor.⁵⁵ I have concluded that there were six groundfloor rooms in the southern dwelling (labeled rooms one through six), one of which is an outside courtyard. A detailed discussion of each room in the dwelling will be offered below.

Spatial analysis of Level VIB southern dwelling

Room One. Room One is the first of three long rooms in the southeastern part of the dwelling and contains the only entrance into the dwelling. The entrance includes steps leading up from Room One, possibly to a street.⁵⁶ The floor (Locus L8010) was made up of cobblestones with many domestic remains *in situ* (Locus L8010 P.). The floor and remains were sealed with mud-brick debris and domestic pottery vessels from the second floor.⁵⁷ Access to the rest of the dwelling was from an entrance in the northwestern section of the room. A northern dividing or retaining wall separated most of Room One from Room Two. According to the Halif database on Dig Master, this dividing wall “might have been constructed to divide activities conducted on its north from other activities.”⁵⁸

Abutting the dividing wall to its west was the base of a pillar (Locus L8011) that was partially in Room One and partially in Room Two and would have supported a second floor. Immediately to its west, a circular stone bin (Locus L8017) was located. The bin had a floor (Locus L8016) and contained various types of remains (Locus L8016 P.), including: 1 cooking vessel fragmented, 1 balista, 1 figurine object, 1 shell, 1 lithic, micro remains (weed stems and floral parts used as part of surface preparations and seed charcoal), fish bones (no amount given), and 1 animal bone remains (what type of animal is not indicated).⁵⁹ The cooking vessel is a large, intermediate bowl (a traditional or Canaanite pot) with a rounded lip, thickened rim with extending ridge, globular body, loop handles and a rounded base (see [Fig. 3.9a](#)).⁶⁰ It is unclear whether the bin partially obstructs the entrance into the rest of the dwelling or not. Remains on the cobblestone floor include: 1 storage jar, 2 bowls, 1 hole-mouth jar, 1 jug, lithics, shells, and numerous pottery sherds. Room One consists of one, possibly two, activity areas labeled activity Areas A and B.

Activity Areas A and B are based on the architectural features and remains found *in situ* in Room One. Activity Area A is comprised of the most distinguishing characteristic of Room One – its stone-paved floor. As mentioned earlier, it is commonly thought that rooms with stone floors could have been used to house animals – that is, a stable.⁶¹ The stone floor would allow for the continued trampling of heavy animals, for the easy removal of animal bedding and waste, and would allow urine to seep into the cracks.⁶² Furthermore, the entrance into the dwelling opens into Room One, permitting the easy entry and exit of the household animals to the settlement pastures.

The partial retaining wall in the north of the room would enclose them, prohibiting them from access to the rest of the house.⁶³

Even though animal remains were found in activity Area A and were not clearly identified in the summary loci reports on the Tel Halif Dig Master website, the preliminary report of the faunal remains from the 1992 and 1993 season indicate that 98 percent of all the meat came from *caprine* domestic animals (e.g. sheep and goats, 87 percent) and cows, (11 percent). The data also indicates that sheep remains far exceed those of goats. This suggests that the inhabitants of Iron II Halif preferred to eat lamb and participated in “a herd management strategy emphasizing wool production for use in the manufacture of textiles.”⁶⁴ Consequently, it is safe to assume that most animal remains mentioned in the summary reports cited in the spatial analysis of Tel Halif were probably of sheep or goats.

A second activity could be an alternative theory to activity Area A or could be labeled as a separate activity area, Area B. Area B is defined by the circular stone bin and some of the vessels found inside, on its floor. The storage jar, hole-mouth jar, the circular stone bin, and its contents indicate that the second activity that occurred in Room One was storage. It has been suggested that cobblestone floors were also used to help keep storage jars upright.⁶⁵ By placing the jar by the wall and grinding its base into the sediment between the stones, the jars would have remained upright. It is inconclusive what was stored in the bin given the variety of remains inside. Perhaps the bin was used to store this material or perhaps the micro remains are indicators of what kind of fodder was given to the household animals. Unfortunately, the only animal remains reported as of yet has not been identified; such evidence would surely strengthen such an argument.

Room Two. Room Two is the second of the three long rooms in the eastern part of the dwelling. Access to Room Two is gained through Room One and provides access to Rooms Three, Four, and Five. Room Two shared one pillar with Room One and two pillars with Rooms Three and Four, all supporting a second floor. Room Two contained a beaten-earth floor (Locus K8003) that continued into Room Three. Remains found *in situ* were documented according to where they were found on the surface. This type of documentation is advantageous for a spatial analysis, especially when a surface continues into other rooms of the dwelling. The remains from what has been labeled Room Two were in the southern area of the surface and include: 1 jug, 1 bowl, 2 krater bowls, 3 cooking vessels, 3 storage jars (including 1 *lemelek* storage jar), 2 hole-mouth jars, 1 animal remains, shell, lithics, and various micro remains.⁶⁶

The shape of one of the cooking vessels found in Room Two could be identified: it looks more like a traditional cooking pot rather than a cooking jug, with a large, intermediate bowl, an open mouth, a rounded lip, thickened rim with extruding ridge, a globular wall profile, and loop handles (very

similar to the cooking pot found in the storage bin in Room One; see Fig. 3.9b).⁶⁷ The other fragments seem to belong to the more traditional Canaanite cooking pot, but the quantity and types of sherds found make it difficult to say with any certainty. It is also interesting to note that one of the micro-artifact samples taken from Room Two contained *tabun* fragments, even though no other indication of a *tabun* has been reported. Moreover, this sample contained charcoaled food remains consisting mostly of cereal grains and legumes as well as a bird shell and fish bone.⁶⁸ Arlene Miller Rosen, the environmental archaeologist who analyzed Tel Halif's micro remains from the 1992 and 1993 seasons, writes, "A likely reconstruction of this sample is that most of the remains came from within the Tabun and are the remnants of cooked meals. The dominant cereal grains could represent the contents of the cooking pot (some sort of gruel?) left at the time of abandonment."⁶⁹ Room Two consists of one activity area labeled activity Area C.

Activity Area C's features and remains indicate that its primary function was as a living room. The vessels used for food consumption and preparation (bowls, cooking pots, a jug, and micro remains) suggest that food was a major component in Room Two. The lack of food-preparation installations suggests that food was consumed in this room rather than prepared in it; however, the micro-artifact report indicates that *tabun* (cooking installation) fragments were found in Room Two and it could be suggested that food preparation and not just consumption occurred in Room Two. In spite of this, if a cooking installation had been found in Room Two, its assigned activity area would clearly have been one of food preparation. The food remains do not clarify the matter because they are not only indicative of food preparation but also of food consumption. Since no such installation was found, it is appropriate to regard the food characteristic of activity Area C as one of food consumption rather than preparation.

It is worth noting that most of the cooking pots found within the Halif dwelling were in Room Two. The fact that most of the cooking pots were found in a room where it does not appear that any cooking took place is not abnormal. In M. Daviau's research into domestic activities in Middle and Late Bronze Age Palestine, she writes,

What is significant is that so many rooms in the same structure were devoted to or included evidence of food preparation and consumption. In certain instances, almost every room contained some items, ceramic vessels or artifacts that could be associated with these activities. Living room areas, where food consumption took place apart from food preparation or cooking, could not be identified with certainty. Part of the reason for this is the fact that the same vessels, in all probability, were used for both purposes. It can also be assumed, *when there is no evidence to the contrary*, that both cooking and eating may have taken place in the same room, especially when that room was the largest in

Cooking pots could certainly have been used as a means of serving food as well as preparing it. The remains that were found in Room Two, its central location, and relationship to the other rooms where food was stored and cooked further strengthen the argument that Room Two's primary activity was a communal, all-purpose living room where food was served and consumed.

Room Three. Room Three is in the northeastern part of the third long room of the dwelling. A dividing or partition wall in its northwestern corner separates it from Room Four to its west. Access to Room Three was through Room Two to its south. Two pillars (Locus K8004 and Locus K8005) are shared with Rooms Two and Four and help support the second floor. The floor in Room Three is a continuation of the packed-earth floor from Room Two (Locus K8003), combined with an area of cobblestone mostly in the northeastern portion of the room. The remains found *in situ* on the beaten-earth and cobblestone floor include: 1 storage jar, 1 juglet, 1 jug, and two bones (species not given).⁷¹ Room Three consists of one activity area labeled D.

Activity Area D is based on the architectural features and remains found in Room Three. Activity Area D was a storage room because all three vessels found in it were used to store food and/or liquids. The small size of the room and its location in the house would not have been ideal for the housing of animals. It can be assumed, however, based on the number of storage vessels that the primary function of Room Three was storage.

Room Four. Room Four is the northwestern corner of the third "long room" of the dwelling. It is a small room separated from Room Three to its east by a stone wall. Entrance is gained through Room Two to its south. The floor (Locus K8015) is completely made up of uneven cobblestones and the remains found *in situ* include: 4 storage jars (including 2 *lemelek* storage jars), 1 krater bowl, 1 jug, 1 amphoriskos jug, 2 lamps, 1 hammer stone, 1 stone bead, 1 bone, and 1 shell.⁷² Room Four has one activity area labeled E.

The majority of vessel types found *in situ* on the cobblestone floor of Room Four (Locus K8015) were storage jars; therefore, it can be assessed as a storage room. The locus summary report on the Dig Master site states that "The unevenness of the floor was possibly made to facilitate the storage of jars using the depressions in the floor for placing jar bottoms."⁷³ The smallness of this area would not allow much activity to have taken place in it. The size of the room, coupled with the storage jars found, indicates that activity Area E was suitable for nothing except storage. However, it is interesting that the majority of remains found *in situ* in both activity Areas D of Room Three and E of Room Four indicate their primary activity was storage. This raises the question, Why are there two rooms that functioned primarily as storage areas side by side? There are several possible answers to this question: (1) each area could be storing something different. If the

household were involved in some sort of trade, it is possible for one area to be designated storage for the trade and the other for the home. (2) One room contained newer produce while the other room contained older produce. (3) The storage of dry goods was in one room and liquid goods were stored in the other. (4) Rooms Three and Four were one large storage room that was subdivided later for a reason unknown to us today.

Room Five. Room Five is the northern section of the broad room located in the rear (or west) of the dwelling. It is difficult to analyze both Room Five and Room Six spatially because they sit on the edge of the tell and were thought to have been built into or abutting the settlement's defensive fortifications. With the destruction of the settlement walls, the rooms closest to the edge have fallen prey to natural formation processes, such as erosion and slope wash. Consequently, the western edges of Rooms Five and Six are poorly preserved. Room Five is separated from Room Six to its south by a wall (Wall K9005). It is assumed that entry into Room Five was gained through an opening in this wall, but it is difficult to tell due to the erosion of the western side of the dwelling. Room Five has a packed-earth floor (Locus K9004) and remains on it include: 1 loom weight, 1 lithic, 2 bowls, 1 plow point, 1 cooking vessel, and numerous pottery sherds.⁷⁴ The cooking vessel found in Room Five is of the hybrid style with more of a closed mouth than the Canaanite pot and a short narrow body with handles that extend from its rim to its shoulder (see [Fig. 3.9c](#)).⁷⁵ Room Five has one activity area labeled F.

Regardless of the numerous unidentifiable sherds found on the floor of Room Five, enough identifiable items hint at what the principal activity may have been. Activity Area F was a work area, possibly for weaving and agriculture. The loom weight is indicative of weaving, the plow point of agriculture, and the lithic of numerous tasks. The lone cooking pot may have been left in this area due to its proximity to a food-preparation area, as will be mentioned below.

Room Six. Room Six is the middle and southern portion of the back broad room of the dwelling. It has a support pillar that is in line with the support pillar in Room One/Two and a packed-earth floor (Locus K9009) in the northern portion and a cobblestone floor in the southern portion (Locus L9003). Entrance was gained to the northern end through Room Two to its east and to the southern end via Room One, also to the east. Room Five lay to its north separated by an interior partition wall (Wall K9005). A poorly preserved *tabun* (Locus K9007) constructed of clay on a ring of fieldstones was located abutting the face of this interior partition wall in its northeastern corner. A stone-lined bin (Locus L9008) was cut into the surface of the cobbled floor in the southern area of the room and contained 2 bowls covered by a flat stone lid. Remains found on the beaten-earth floor (L. K9009) near the *tabun* include: 10 bowls, 1 juglet, 3 jugs, 1 lamp, 1 loom weight, 1 worked stone (e.g. a hammer stone), 1 figurine fragment, 1 shell, 1 animal remains

(species unknown), and 1 phytolith sample. Remains found on the cobbled floor (Locus L9003) in the southern part of the room include: 5 bowls, 1 juglet, 1 jug, 1 shell, and 1 lithic.⁷⁶ Room Six has two activity areas labeled activity Areas G and H.

Activity Areas G and H are based on the architectural features and remains found *in situ* in Room Six. Activity Area G is the northern portion of Room Six and the remains found *in situ* determine its activities. Activity Area G's most distinguishing feature is the *tabun*, which is an indicator of food preparation. The *tabun*, coupled with the remains (such as jugs, juglets, jars, animal remains, plant remains, and numerous bowls), implies that the primary activity in this area was food preparation. The phytolith sample further strengthens this argument. Phytoliths are "minute particles of silica derived from cells of plants, able to survive after the organism has been decomposed or been burned. They are common in ash layers, pottery, and even stone tools."⁷⁷ Phytoliths in archaeological contexts are usually discarded by humans, are found *in situ*, and are indicators of diet and food processing. Plants that are expected to leave behind good phytolith records include cereals (e.g. wheat, barley, and maize), carbohydrate fruit crops (e.g. bananas), vegetables (e.g. squashes and gourds), and root crops (e.g. arrow root).⁷⁸ The phytolith remains and the *tabun* suggest that activity Area G was used in part for the preparation of bread.

No cooking vessels were found on the floor in this area; however, due to the formation processes that affected Rooms Five and Six, the lack of expected artifacts is not abnormal. A cooking vessel was found in the destruction debris above the floor, which was either from a shelf in Room Six or from the second floor. The cooking vessel was of the traditional cooking-pot style with an open mouth, short and wide body, with two handles that extend down from the rim to the body, and a rounded bottom. Unfortunately, since the cooking vessel was found in the destruction debris from the second floor and was not *in situ*, it cannot be positively labeled as part of activity Area G. It must be noted that a few of the remains do not point to food preparation. The loom weight and figurine fragment suggest two possibilities: (1) activities other than food preparation occurred in Area G or (2) the wall between Rooms Five and Six was a simple division or partition wall that allowed for the easy transfer of activities and their tools. Regardless of how and why some of the non-food-related remains came to be in Area G, it can be stated with certainty that the primary activity in Area G was food preparation.

Activity Area H is the southern portion of Room Six and its architectural features and remains found *in situ* determine its activities. The most distinguishing feature found in Area H is the stone-lined storage bin containing 2 bowls. The storage cavity, the remains on the floor (1 juglet, 1 jug, 1 lithic, and several bowls), and proximity to the food-preparation area indicate that Area H was used for storage, possibly of foodstuffs.

Room Seven. A possible courtyard served as a seventh room and is located to the east of Rooms Two and Three, abutting the eastern wall (Wall K8006) and on top of an earthen floor (Locus K7019). No remains have been found or reported as of yet. The square (K7) has only been partially excavated, so its architecture (if it is a courtyard at all) and complete relationship to the southern dwelling cannot be determined as of yet. However, the reports on Dig Master indicate that the prevailing thought is that it is related to the southern dwelling: "The small room built on the external wall of the pillared house ... no other *tabun* was found in the K8/L8 pillared house; apparently cooking was done in this extension of the house."⁷⁹ The so-called extension is near the entrance to the house and contained what was thought at the time to be the only *tabun* associated with the Halif southern dwelling. However, it is not the only *tabun* found within the Halif dwelling; a *tabun* was located in Room Six, perhaps in a subsequent season. This extension could have functioned as a walled, outdoor courtyard, similar to the dwelling under investigation at Lachish that has an outdoor courtyard with enclosure or partition walls. It seems highly probable that dwellings in urban environments, like the walled settlements of Lachish and Halif, would be maintained in the Iron Age-house style but modified to fit the needs of the environment. The close quarters of the walled settlement would surely entice the residents not only to make good use of their limited space but to create boundaries when possible. The partition walls could have been such a case. If this interpretation is correct, the presence and location of the courtyard would follow the common outline of an Iron Age-style dwelling with an outdoor courtyard in the front that would have been used as a second kitchen during hot weather.

Summary

Tel Halif was abandoned quickly before it was destroyed by the Assyrians and, consequently, provides an example of how groundfloor domestic space was organized and utilized inside a walled Iron IIB Judahite settlement:⁸⁰ the smaller side rooms were dedicated to the storage of household foodstuffs and tools, while the large broad room was divided into two rooms where various household activities, including food preparation, took place. The large side cobblestone room gave shelter to the smaller household animals; the central long room was the heart of the dwelling and was used as a family room of sorts. Areas dedicated to the preparation of food were concentrated most certainly in Room Five towards the back of the dwelling and perhaps in Room Two and the possible courtyard/Room Seven. The identifiable cooking vessels found at Halif exhibit two styles of Iron Age II cooking vessels: the large open-mouthed Canaanite pot and the hybrid. Rooms One and Two contained the same type of traditional cooking pot while the hybrid pot was found in Room Five. No cooking installations were clearly identified in any of the rooms where cooking vessels were found. The hybrid pot in Room Five was

the closest – its location being on the other side of a low dividing wall from the *tabun* in Room Six – and only clearly identified cooking installation in the dwelling. This suggests that either this *tabun*, which is thought to be for baking bread, was used to cook all the meals that were prepared within the dwelling and the vessels were left in areas of storage or consumption, not preparation; or, there was another cooking installation that did not survive the Assyrian destruction.

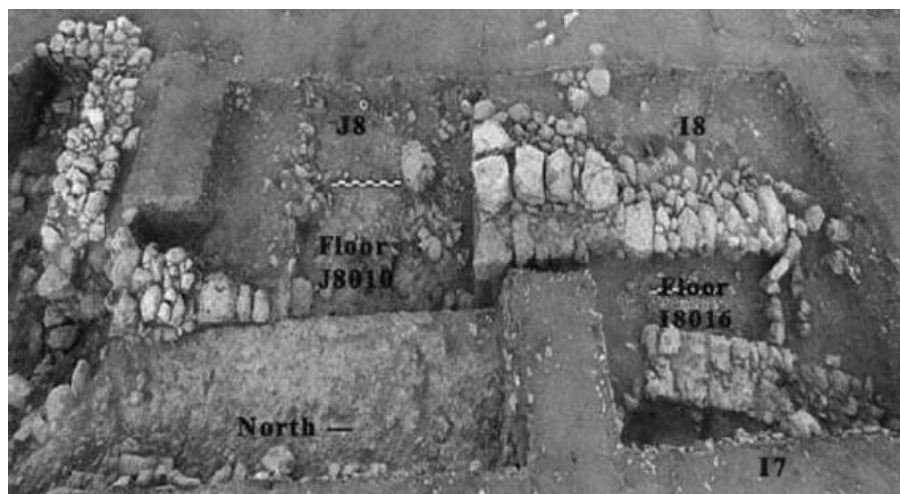


Figure 3.5 Iron IIC dwelling at Tel Halif. *Source:* Lahav Research Project (www.cobbsstate.edu/digmaster).

In the analysis of the dwelling at Lachish, both a *tabun* (plural: *tawabeen*) and a round cooking installation were uncovered – the dwelling at Halif does not have a second cooking installation. Possible solutions are: (1) cooking installations other than *tawabeen* did not survive the destruction; (2) the missing cooking installation was dismantled and was put to secondary use during the subsequent squatter phase; (3) there was a communal cooking installation elsewhere; (4) there was no other cooking installation in this dwelling and all cooking was done on/in the *tabun*; or (5) other installations were located in the western portion of Room Five or Room Six, which has now eroded down the slope, and so are no longer in existence.

Fortified settlement 2 – Tel Halif: Iron IIC stratum

After the destruction of Iron IIB Halif by the Assyrian campaign, parts of the settlement were reoccupied in the first half of the Iron IIC period (ca. 700–586 BCE). This level is designated as stratum VIA and dates to ca. 700–650 BCE. Halif's Iron IIC occupation is described as a “squatters’ phase” in which some dwellings in Field IV were reoccupied but only for a short amount of time.

Similar to Lachish, the Iron IIC occupation of Halif renders no solid architectural plan. Its few remaining dwellings were poorly preserved. Consequently, a spatial analysis of Halif's Iron IIC dwellings is difficult to conduct. Not unlike Lachish, it may be best to analyze the Halif dwelling by loci instead of assigning room designations. Regardless of the poorly preserved architecture, numerous domestic remains were found in situ in the Iron IIC dwelling. While exact room assignments may not be possible, the cluster and types of artifacts found may be of some use to this research. The only dwelling in Field IV that has any Iron IIC levels is located directly north of the Iron IIB dwelling previously analyzed and includes squares I7, I8, and I8. Each square and its Iron IIC loci will be examined below.⁸¹

In square I7 a poorly preserved surface (L. I7007) was uncovered. The surface has portions of black and grey ash with smashed pottery on it. The surface runs to pillar I7010 and was cut by a trench in its eastern part. Several vessels were restored from the smashed pottery on the surface including: 6 storage jars (2 of which were *l'melek* storage jars), 1 juglet, 2 bowls, 1 krater, 1 cooking vessel, 2 jugs, and 2 lamps. Numerous fragmented pieces have been identified: 47 bowl pieces, 7 storage jars, 1 juglet, 1 krater, 2 cooking vessels, 8 jugs, 5 lamps, 3 grinders, 5 jars, 1 pithos, 1 worked stone, 18 bone samples,⁸² 9 shell samples, and 2 lithics.⁸³ Locus I7010 has two activity areas labeled A and B.

The restored cooking vessel is only partially complete.⁸⁴ Its bottom half reveals that it could possibly be of the traditional form; although without the top half it is difficult to say so with certainty.⁸⁵ One of the fragmented cooking vessels actually has a large portion of the top half of the vessel, which indicates it is of the hybrid form (see Fig. 3.9d). The second fragment is a small one, too small to determine its vessel shape.⁸⁶ A poorly preserved *tabun* (L. I7014) was exposed in the northeastern corner and may have been used with surface I7007.⁸⁷ The numerous domestic remains suggest this area was reused as a dwelling. Activity Area A comprises the cooking vessels and *tabun*, which indicates that food preparation occurred in this area. Activity Area B includes the large amount of various other types of artifacts and suggests that this area was also used for storage.

Square I8 is located to the east of I7 and is considered part of the same dwelling. However, the form and function of this area are difficult to determine because very little has been exposed and the area has been cut into by a stratum III wall.⁸⁸ A cobbled surface (L. I8016) made of pebble to cobble-sized stones was uncovered and runs to two installations (L. I8013 and L. I8019).⁸⁹ Installation L. I8013 is made of semicircular, dry-laid fieldstones. Wall I8021 divides installation L. I8013 into two sections. Inside were more than 100 clay loom weights, a stone weight, 2 pounder stones, and several bone samples.⁹⁰ The second installation, L. I8019, was made of light brown clay and curved in shape. Its nature and function are unclear and no remains were found inside.⁹¹ Remains found *in situ* on surface I8016 include: 2

complete juglets, 3 bowl fragments, 1 jar fragment, 1 stopper, 2 clay loom weight samples, and 1 bone sample.⁹² A second poorly preserved cobbled surface (L. I8017) was uncovered in the northwestern area of the square I8. Formation processes such as tree roots and erosion of the western side of the tell have affected L. I8017.⁹³ Remains found on the surface include: 2 loom weight samples, 1 stone weight, 1 worked stone, 1 wadi stone, 1 shell sample, and 3 bone samples.⁹⁴ Two separate cobbled surfaces could suggest that there were two differing activity areas in this part of the dwelling. However, the remains found on both surfaces and installations are consistent with one activity. Thus, the I8 loci have been labeled with activity Area C. The massive amount of loom weights, other weights, and stone implements suggests that weaving activities occurred in this part of the dwelling. It is also probable that loom weights were produced and stored in these areas.

Square J8 is south of square I7 and I8 and is part of the same dwelling, but because of the limited amount of exposure it is difficult to determine if it is inside the dwelling or part of an outside courtyard. One surface made of beaten earth (L. J8010) was badly damaged by formation process such as root action and erosion.⁹⁵ Two installations (L. J8016 and L. J8017) were found on surface L. J8010 and were made of cobble-sized fieldstones. Installation L. J8016 is set against the eastern face of pillar base L. J8013. Installation L. J8017 is located in the southern part of the area. The function of both installations is unknown and no remains were found inside.⁹⁶ The surface of floor L. J8010 was covered with smashed pottery and other remains. Several vessels were restored and include: 8 bowls, 2 jugs, 2 storage jars, 1 juglet, 1 krater, 1 jar, and 1 cooking vessel. Fragmented pottery pieces include: 6 bowls, 1 cooking vessel, 2 storage jars, 1 stone bowl, 1 stone vessel, 3 juglets, 4 weight stones, 2 jars, 1 fenestrated mortar, 2 grinding-stone fragments, 1 lithic bead, 1 quern fragment, 2 worked bones, and 1 pounder.⁹⁷ Square J8 has two, possibly three activity areas, labeled Areas D, E, and F.

The restored cooking vessel is of the hybrid form with a ridged neck (see Fig. 3.9e).⁹⁸ The cooking-vessel fragment is only a small one so its form cannot be determined. The array of vessel types and their corresponding functions are vast. Activity Area D includes the vessels used for food preparation (cooking pots, mortar, grinding stones, and a quern), which suggests food was prepared in this area. However, no *tabun* has been documented. Certain types of installations could have been used in food preparation but the function of the ones uncovered in L. J8010 cannot be determined and do help identify the area's activities. Activity Area E includes vessels used for food consumption (bowls, jugs, and a krater), while Area F includes vessels used for storage (storage jars, jars, and juglets); both imply that food was both consumed and stored in this area.

Summary

Evidence of five cooking vessels was found in the Iron IIC dwelling at Halif.

Of the five, the type of two of the vessels was indeterminate because of the size and ambiguous nature of the fragments. However, three of the cooking-vessel remains provided enough evidence to ascertain their type. Two of the cooking vessels were of the hybrid form, while one was of the traditional form. The existence of a *tabun*, even a poorly preserved one, coupled with the remains of several cooking vessels, indicates that food preparation occurred in Halif's Iron IIC dwelling. Since no cooking vessels were found in the Iron IIC dwelling at Lachish, a comparison of the vessels is not possible. Like the Iron IIB period, Philistine cooking jugs were not found at Iron IIC Halif. The lack of Philistine cooking jugs does not necessarily indicate that the occupants of Iron IIC Halif were Judahite. The shephelah was ceded to Philistia in 701 by Sennacherib and regained, possibly by Manasseh (ca. 697–641 BCE).⁹⁹ It is possible that the Iron IIC squatters of Halif were Philistine since the occupation period was during this time and was relatively short in duration.

Farmstead 1 – Khirbet er-Ras

Background

A number of farmsteads were found in the Rephaim Valley about 5 km south of the old city of Jerusalem and were occupied sporadically from the Middle Bronze I period to modern times. Khirbet er-Ras includes a couple of these farms (hereby classified as Kh. er-Ras 1 and Kh. er-Ras 2); they were located on the southern slope of the Malha hill in the Rephaim Valley. These farms were surveyed in 1977 by Shimon Gibson and Gabriel Barkay for Tel Aviv University,¹⁰⁰ and again in 1978 by the Repha'im Valley Archaeological Survey.¹⁰¹ Kh. er-Ras 1 is the focus of this research and was excavated by G. Edelstein in the 1980s and again in 1993–94 by N. Feig as a rescue operation due to road construction.¹⁰² It should be noted that the excavation reports and publications have documented the artifacts primarily according to type, not by locus or by room – this type of documentation is more of a hindrance than an asset to spatial analysis. Nevertheless, the spatial analysis of the farms at Khirbet er-Ras must be based on the information available; it is, therefore, subject to further discussion.

While Edelstein classifies these settlements as individual farmsteads, Feig views them together as a single village.¹⁰³ This hypothesis seems unlikely since each farm appears to have 1–2 dwellings with their agricultural buildings and are separated by a dozen or so meters, meaning they are too far apart to be considered one village.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, G. Edelstein and I. Milevski note that access to one of the farms was through what they call a “fenced alleyway” with a path that linked it to other nearby farms. A second “fenced passageway” was found that people and herds could have used without entering the farm.¹⁰⁵ These fences or walls are similar to Fritz's ring-shaped subcategory of unfortified settlements. However, unfortified

settlements would not have had a monopoly on fences. These fences could also be considered boundary walls and would have been used as a place to shelter animals for farmsteads as well as unfortified settlements. It is not the presence or absence of fences that differentiate a farmstead from an unfortified settlement; rather, it is the number of dwellings with agricultural buildings and the size and rural nature of the settlement that act as distinguishing characteristics. Based on its layout, Edelstein and Milevski conclude that Kh. er-Ras 1 and 2 were preplanned farms.

There is little evidence of water today at Khirbet er-Ras; the nearest spring, ‘En Ya’el, is across the valley, but the existence of water plants that grew in marshes is indicative that the water table was higher at er-Ras at one point. A water cistern was located on the western side of the farm, near the alleyway.¹⁰⁶ The farmstead of Kh. er-Ras 1 includes an Iron Age II house that was partially excavated, two other unexcavated structures, caves, pens, various agricultural installations, and terraces. The earliest remains on the farm date to the Middle Bronze I period and the earliest architectural remains (labeled as final Locus 34 by G. Edelstein) date to the Middle Bronze IIB period. The farm was abandoned after the Middle Bronze IIB period and was reoccupied during the late Iron IIB period (eighth century). Pottery found on the floor of the buildings and cave belongs to the seventh-sixth centuries BCE.¹⁰⁷ The farm was again abandoned at the end of the Iron Age IIC period (700–586 BCE), possibly due in part to the Babylonian conquest. No evidence of “siege” or destruction is noted. Parts of Building 1 and Cave 3 were reoccupied during the second or first century BCE. Pottery from the late Hellenistic-early Roman periods was found in the fill of dwelling. A round tower was built on top of Building 1 during the Ottoman period.¹⁰⁸

Description of dwelling

Only one of the structures within the enclosure was excavated (Building 1) and will consequently be the object of this research. Building 1 was built during the reoccupation of the farm during the late Iron IIB period¹⁰⁹ and was located in the middle of an enclosed area approximately 4.5 acres in size.¹¹⁰ Within the main enclosure, at least eight terraces along with three buildings (including Building 1), one wine press, and one (artificial) cave were found.¹¹¹ Adjacent to the main enclosure were two more that could have been used as pens for animals, more than likely belonging to the same farm.¹¹² The enclosure walls were made of stone boulders, preserved to a height of 1.2–1.5 m. On the farm’s western front, an alleyway created by two parallel stone walls (W1 and W2) would have allowed not only for the ease of moving animals, but would have protected the crops on terraces from being trod upon by animals.¹¹³ The northern enclosure wall (W6) continued to both the east and west; this wall more than likely connected to other nearby farming complexes.¹¹⁴ The dwelling itself is reminiscent of the so-called “Israelite four-room house,” or the “Iron Age style.” I have concluded that this dwelling

has seven rooms, one of which is an outdoor courtyard. A detailed description of each room is offered below.

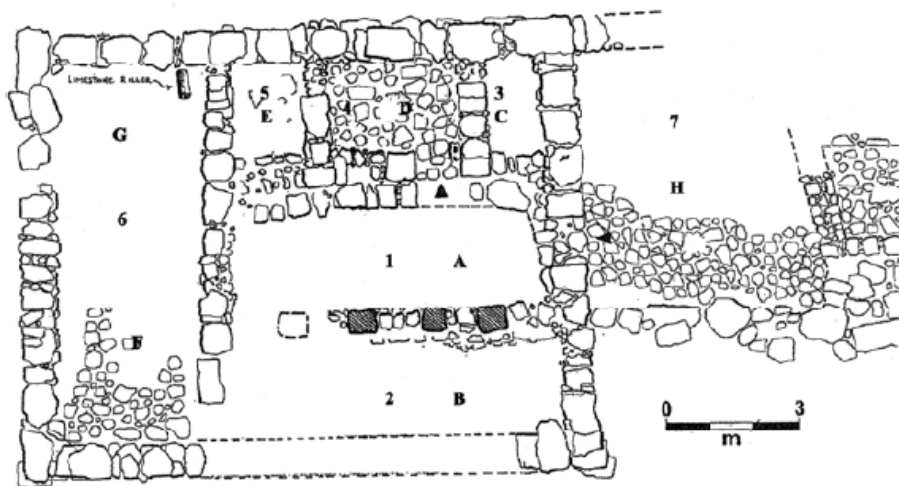


Figure 3.6 Iron IIC dwelling at Khirbet er-Ras. *Source:* Israel Antiquities Authority (Edelstein, “A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras,” 45).

Spatial analysis of dwelling

Room One. Room One (labeled as final Locus 1 and as courtyard 1 by Edelstein) is the middle long room that contained the main entrance into the dwelling as well as access to Room Two to its south and Rooms Three-Five to its north.¹¹⁵ The make-up of the floors in any of the rooms was not noted in the excavation report or publications unless it was stone-paved; consequently, it must be assumed that the floor in Room One was made of beaten earth. A row of three monolith pillars with a low dividing wall connecting the pillars separates Room One from Room Two. Mostly fragmented remains found *in situ* in Room One include: 10–13 bowls, 1–2kraters, 1 cooking vessel, 3 jars, 1 jug, 2 juglets, 4 hole-mouth jars, 1 pithos, and 2 animal remains (*caprine* [goat or sheep] and *bos taurus* [cattle]).¹¹⁶ The cooking vessel is a Philistine jug with a closed mouth with a narrow neck (see Fig. 3.10a, 9).¹¹⁷ Room One consists of one activity area labeled A.

The remains found on the floor in Room One suggest the activity carried out in Area A: the jug, juglets, kraters, numerous bowls, and animal remains indicate that the primary activity carried out in Room One was food consumption. No cooking installation was reported; therefore, the cooking jug is a likely indicator of food consumption rather than food preparation. The storage containers (jars and pithos) point to storage as well as food consumption. Food consumption would have occurred in a communal “living room” space where numerous household activities would have occurred. It is common to find a variety of remains in the central room indicating that the

household members participated in numerous household activities, including food consumption, in the most central space.

Room Two. Room Two (labeled Locus Five by Edelstein) is the second of the three long areas and is south of Room One. Access to Room Two is gained through an opening in the pillar and low dividing wall that separates Room Two from Room One. Unfortunately, Room Two was not excavated and the reason for this decision was not provided in Edelstein's report or publications. The only documented finds are mentioned in the animal remains report and record that 4 animal remains were found in Room Two (3 *caprine* [sheep and goats] and 1 *bos taurus* [cow]).¹¹⁸ What is not mentioned is how these animal remains were found if Room Two was not excavated. Consequently, the function of Room Two is at best an educated guess and is labeled as activity Area B.

The function of activity Area B can only be based on the architecture and possibly the small amount of animal remains found. The monolithic pillars and low dividing wall that partitioned Room Two from Room One indicate that activity Area B was to be separated from the majority of the house, but was to be monitored. As was seen in the spatial analysis of Lachish and Halif, an end long room with a pillared, low dividing wall was an ideal in-house location for the smaller household animals, such as sheep and goats. Both of these examples from Lachish and Halif also had stone-paved floors. While a stone-paved floor was not found in Room Two (due to it not being excavated), one could guess on the basis of the architecture that it could have been used as the household stable. The animal remains found could indicate what types of animals were kept in the stable (mostly sheep and goats).

Room Three. Room Three is a very small room (1.25×2.6 m) in the northeastern corner of the dwelling (labeled as final Two by Edelstein). South of Room Three is Room One and to its west is Room Four. One interesting point to note is that Edelstein documents that no entrance to Room Three was found, but the plan suggests a possible opening at the top left, from Room Four. Several sherds were found on its floor, including 1 juglet and 1 lamp.¹¹⁹ There are two possible answers as to why Room Three was enclosed: (1) there was an entrance that either went unnoticed or (2) it was blocked, either originally or later, and access was gained by a ladder from an upper floor.¹²⁰ Room Three has one activity area labeled activity Area C.

Activity Area C is based on the remains found on the floor and its architectural features, or lack thereof. The small dimensions of the room, coupled with the lack of an entrance, could indicate that the primary function of activity Area C was storage. The smallest room in many of the Iron Age-style houses served as a storage room and this could be the case with Room Three. The remains on the floor (1 juglet and 1 lamp), however, are sparse and do not provide clues as to what the primary function of activity Area C could have been. The juglet could suggest that Room Three stored small vessels, but

the lamp indicates darkness. This would reinforce the lack of groundfloor access from Room One or Room Four, with no natural light penetrating the four walls of the room.

Room Four. Room Four is the middle section of the northern area of the dwelling (Edelstein labeled this room as Room/final Locus 26). Access to Room Four is gained through Room One to its south. The floor of Room Four was paved with stone slabs and a doorjamb and socket were found *in situ* along with sherds from 1 hole-mouth jar.¹²¹ Room Four has been labeled as activity Area D.

The remains and architectural features of Room Four provide information on the activities in Area D. The stone slab floor, door remains, and hole-mouth-jar sherds indicate that the primary function of activity Area D was as another storage room. It has been suggested that stone floors were used to help to keep storage jars upright by placing the jar by the wall and grinding or resting its base into the sediment between the stones.¹²² The doorjamb and socket indicate that whatever was stored in this room was to be kept separated from the rest of the house, but accessed easily from the main living space. Hole-mouth storage jars could store dry foodstuffs as well as liquids, so it is possible to assume that Room Three stored liquids while Room Four stored dry goods, but since Room Three is less easily accessed this hypothesis seems unlikely. Consequently, Room Four could be viewed as the main storage facility. *Room Five.* Room Five (labeled as Room/final Locus 20) is another small room (1.7 × 2.8 m) and is the last of the three rooms in the northern part of the dwelling. Edelstein does not comment on how access to Room Five was gained and the plans indicate that it was either enclosed or there was an earlier wall in the top right that was later removed. Remains found *in situ* include: 1 basalt quern, 7 bowls (some of which were complete), 1 complete cooking vessel, 1 jug, 2 juglets (one of which was complete), and 5 animal remains (4 *caprine* [sheep and goats] and 1 *bos taurus* [cow]). The cooking vessel found in Room Five was of the hybrid type and had a closed mouth, a narrow, rimmed neck with two handles extending from the rim to the shoulder, rounding at the bottom (see Fig. 3.10a, 8).¹²³ Room five has one activity area labeled E.

Even though no cooking installation was found in Room Five, the remains on its floor – the jug, cooking vessel, basalt quern, juglets, numerous bowls, and animal remains – indicate that the primary activity carried out in activity Area E was food preparation. The cooking pot unearthed in this activity area is similar to the hybrid cooking pots found at Lachish and Halif. This type of cooking pot/jug was a combination of the typical open-mouthed, round-bottomed cooking pots typically found in Canaan and the Philistine closed-mouth, narrow-necked cooking jugs. This combination of cooking styles was popular throughout Judah and Philistia during Iron Age II;¹²⁴ its small size would have been ideal for cooking smaller and/or liquid foodstuffs, such as

porridge or gruel.

Room Six. Room Six comprises the so-called “broad room” at the rear of the dwelling and its entrance is not clear. The floor in the southern part of the room was stone-paved and fragmented remains on the floors include: 1 bowl, 1 krater, 1 jar, 1 hole-mouth storage jar, 1 hammer stone, 1 limestone roller, and 5 animal remains (3 *caprine* [goats and sheep], 1 *sus scrofa* [pig], and 1 *bos taurus* [cow]).¹²⁵ Room Six has two activity areas labeled F and G.

Activity Areas F and G are based on the remains and architectural features found in Room Six. Area F includes the partially stone-paved area and Area G consists of the rest of the room. The partially paved area in the southern part of the room coupled with the storage jars indicate that activity Area F could have been used as another storage area, while the bowls, krater, and hammer stone indicate that food preparation/consumption was the function of activity Area G. Edelstein comments that the limestone roller is known to have been used in olive oil presses, which would support a storage function for activity Area F and food preparation for activity Area G.¹²⁶ It has also been noted that limestone rollers were often used to compress and even-out the roofs of houses and could be stored within the dwelling.¹²⁷ This does not, however, change the function of Area G; rather, it supports the idea of household utensils being stored in this area.

Room Seven. Room Seven is a partially stone-paved courtyard outside the entrance of the dwelling. As mentioned earlier, outdoor courtyards were part of the household’s physical space and would have been a seasonal workspace for the household members; therefore, it is appropriate to consider it a “room” and include it in this discussion. Remains found within Room Seven include: 1 juglet and 1 clay *tabun*.¹²⁸ Room Seven has one activity area that has been labeled H.

The architectural features and the remains found *in situ* in Room Seven indicate the function of activity Area H. The most obvious clue for the primary function of this area is the *tabun*. The *tabun*, a clay cylinder oven used for cooking and baking, was a common feature both within Iron Age dwellings and in outdoor spaces, such as courtyards. The outdoor location of an oven would have been ideal during the hot summer months for which the southern Levant is known. The juglet, along with the *tabun*, confirm that one of the main functions for activity Area H would have been food preparation.

Summary

Khirbet er-Ras is an excellent example of an Iron Age Judahite farmstead and is also one of the few farmsteads that have been in several publications, thus making research into the everyday life of the average ancient Judahite just a little bit easier. The dwelling, although not completely excavated nor reported with a sensitivity to spatial analysis, is of the typical Iron Age style (“Israelite

four-room house”) and contained three food-preparation-related items: two cooking pots and one *tabun*. One cooking pot was more of the Philistine style while the other reflected the influence of the Philistine style combined with the traditional “Canaanite” style – or the hybrid form, which was a popular style, as has been seen in the analysis of all the sites in this research thus far. The *tabun* was not documented in detail, but one can assume that it is of the traditional bread-baking variety: a truncated cone made of clay that could possibly be used to cook other food in vessels as well.

Farmstead 2 – Pisgat Ze’ev

Background

An Iron Age farmstead, Pisgat Ze’ev A, which included a wine press, cave, and terraces, was found in the rural outskirts of Jerusalem and was excavated by J. Seligman in 1990 on behalf of the Israeli Antiquities Department. The farm is located between major roadways (the ancient Jerusalem-Hizme road to its east and the Jerusalem-Ramallah road to its west), a fortified settlement (0.9 km east of Tell el-Ful), and water sources (Nahal Zimra to its north and Wadi Half to its south).¹²⁹ The farmstead was built between the latter eighth and early seventh centuries and was inhabited until the early sixth century when it was abandoned, most likely during the Babylonian campaign in 586/7 BCE. NO signs of destruction were noted. Seligman writes that “Occupation here ceased with the destruction of Jerusalem and the destruction (or abandonment) of Tell el-Ful IIIA,” the closest fortified settlement to Pisgat Ze’ev.¹³⁰

Description of dwelling

Only one dwelling has been found at Pisgat Ze’ev, which will therefore be the focus of this investigation. The size of the farmstead has not been published, but the size of the dwelling has been documented as being approximately 10 × 8 m and was poorly preserved. The state of the remains and floors were poor because of the shallowness of the fill above the floors, which suggests that the remains had a greater likelihood of exposure to formation processes.¹³¹ A small wine press abuts the dwelling to the north and a storage cave lay 200 m to the east of the dwelling. A second farmstead, Nahal Zimra, is located 400 m to the east of the cave and, because of its proximity, J. Seligman argues that the cave could have been used by both farmsteads.¹³² It is worth noting that Seligman argues that the dwelling consists of two small square rooms and two larger rectangular rooms, and is not typical of the Iron Age.¹³³ On the other hand, A. Faust argues that, given the poor preservation of the walls, the dwelling at Pisgat Ze’ev was of the Iron Age type and that the broad room typically found in the back was not preserved.¹³⁴ As Seligman notes, the layout of the house does not seem to reflect a typical Iron Age house; contra

Faust, there is no indication of a broad room. For these reasons, I will adhere to the layout given by the excavator, J. Seligman. I have concluded that there are four rooms within the dwelling with a possible fifth room and courtyard (labeled as Rooms Five and Six).

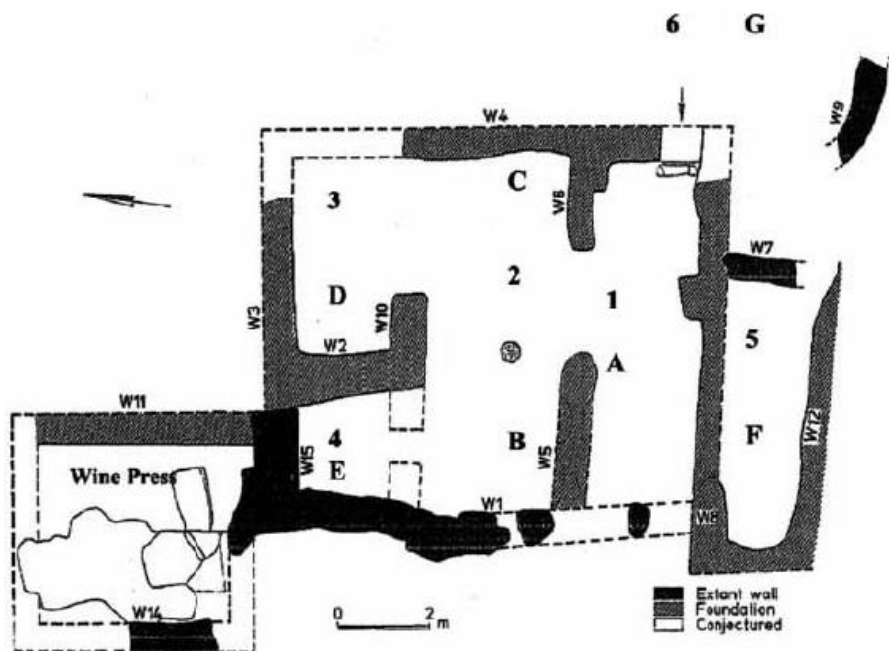


Figure 3.7 Iron IIC dwelling at Pisgat Ze'ev A. *Source:* Israel Antiquities Authority (Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 63).

Spatial analysis of dwelling

Room One. Room One (Locus 3–7) is the most southern room and, due to a large stone slab, is thought to be the threshold and main entrance into the house. The floor is made of bedrock and wall foundations indicate that access to the rest of the house was gained through an entrance in the walls (Walls 5 and 6) that separate Room One from the rest of the house. A natural depression in Room Two continues under the dividing wall (Wall 5) and into Room One. Remains on the floor include: 1 fragmented, incomplete pithos, and 1 saddle quern.¹³⁵ No animal remains were documented. Room One has one activity area labeled A.

Unfortunately, the function of activity Area A can only be based on the small amount of remains found on the floor of Room One. The saddle quern indicates that food processing was a function and the pithos supports such activity as well; the grain ground on the saddle quern could have been stored in the pithos jar. The first room is typically a common living space where various household activities are performed. It is possible that Room One

continued in this tradition.

Room Two. Room Two (Locus 3–5) is a large (7×3 m) rectangular central room with access gained through the entrance from Room One to the south. Room Two provides access to Rooms Three and Four to the north. A stone pillar base was found in the center of the room, as was a deep cupmark carved into the bedrock in the northern part of Room Two. Seligman notes that a deep natural depression that contained a complete hole-mouth jar was located in the southwestern corner of Room Two and continued under the wall (Wall 5) and into Room One to its south. The floor is made of bedrock and remains found on it include: 1 bowl, 1 cooking vessel almost complete, and 1 complete jar.¹³⁶ The cooking pot is typical of the hybrid cooking-pot type with a slightly grooved everted rim and squat body (see [Fig. 3.10b](#), 13).¹³⁷ Room Two has two activity areas labeled as B and C.

Activity Area B consists of the natural depression with a complete hole-mouth jar inside it. The storage jar placed in a natural depression suggests that one of the functions of Room Two was storage. The use of natural formations such as depressions and caves for storage is typical of dwellings in antiquity. The cave on the farm at Pisgat Ze'ev was used for storage, indicated by the large amount of storage jars inside it, and it seems that this depression was also used for storage. The second activity area, C, consists of the other remains found on the floor (the bowl and cooking vessel) and point to a function of food preparation and/or consumption in Room Two. The cooking pot is usually a clear indicator of food preparation; however, without the existence of a cooking installation it is unclear whether food preparation or food consumption occurred in activity Area C. Bowls are strong indicators of food consumption since the food from the cooking vessel could have been poured into the bowl for serving. It was also common for larger cooking pots to be utilized as serving vessels and as communal eating vessels during meals. The shape of the cooking pot could be an indicator of whether or not it could have been used for consumption as well as preparation. A hybrid cooking pot could have been used as a serving vessel, but its somewhat closed mouth would have made the communal sharing of a meal difficult. Therefore, it could be suggested that the hybrid pot reflects food preparation rather than food consumption in activity Area C.

Room Three. Room Three (Locus 3–9) is located to the north of Room Two and to the east of Room Four. Access is gained through Room Two. Room Three contains a floor of bedrock. Remains on the floor include 1 fragmented bowl.¹³⁸ Room Three has one activity area labeled D.

Unfortunately, only one artifact (a bowl) was found in Room Three, which makes it difficult to analyze spatially. As was mentioned earlier, the dwelling at Pisgat Ze'ev lacks the fourth characteristic of the Iron Age house – the back broad room. The location of the room will be of no help either because the activities carried out in the back broad room varied (such as sleeping quarters,

storage, food preparation, weaving, etc.) from dwelling to dwelling. It is nearly impossible to determine what the function of activity Area D was due to the scarcity of remains.

Room Four. A possible fourth room was labeled in the northwest corner of the dwelling. Room Four (Locus 3–2) is a small room (2 × 2 m) that is entered through the opening into Room Two. It is separated from Room Three by Wall 2. The wine press is located on the northern side of Room Four's exterior wall (Wall 15). The floor is made of large paved stones laid over the bedrock with no remains found upon it.¹³⁹ Room Four has one activity area labeled E.

Since no artifactual or bioarchaeological remains were found, Room Four's primary architectural feature, its stone-paved floor, is the base of its suggested activity. As was seen in the analysis of the other sites, stone-paved floors were used for two reasons: as a domestic stable or storage. Due to the small size of the room (2×2 m), the housing of animals as the primary function of activity Area E seems unlikely. The second option is that of storage, a more likely possibility. It was noted earlier that stone floors were used to help to keep storage jars upright by placing the jar by the wall and grinding or resting its base into the sediment between the stones.¹⁴⁰ The stone-paved floor in Room Four would have been ideal for this use. The small size of the room, the stone-paved floor, and its location in the back corner of the dwelling suggest that activity Area E was used as a storage facility. However, it is impossible to say with any certainty what its function was without any artifactual or bioarchaeological remains. If the farm was abandoned, as Seligman suggests, it is likely its inhabitants fled with as many household vessels as possible – including any food and drink for their journey or produce, such as wine, that they could sell. Therefore, activity Area E's designation as a storage room is at best an educated guess.

Room Five. Room Five (Locus 3–12) is located south of Room One. In fact, due to its poor preservation it is difficult to determine what the relationship of Room Five was to the dwelling. Two of its walls are shared with Room One (Walls 8 and 1), even though it is lower than Room One (0.2 m below). Access could have been through a small opening in the northern wall (Wall 7) into what I discuss below as an outdoor courtyard. However, this does not appear to be a formal entrance and could simply be a deterioration of the wall. There is no entrance into the rest of the dwelling from Room Five. No other Iron Age II dwelling remains have been found on the farmstead, so the possibility of Room Five being part of a second dwelling is not under consideration. Consequently, I have concluded that Room Five is related to the rest of the dwelling at Pisgat Ze'ev, but in what capacity remains to be determined. Remains on its floor include: 2 bowls and 1 cooking vessel. The cooking vessel found in Room Five is more of the Philistine type: a small jug with a closed mouth and ridges on its narrow neck (see [Fig. 3.10b](#), 18).¹⁴¹ Room Five has one activity area labeled F.

The proximity of the room to the house (it abuts Room One) and its unclear entrance coupled with the remains found (2 bowls and 1 cooking jug) could indicate that activity Area F was either some sort of storage facility or perhaps even another food-preparation area. Ethnographic research in Jordan and Iran demonstrates that some villages had “purpose-built oven-houses.” “At a later period when the structures were abandoned as dwelling houses, they were reused as oven-houses.”¹⁴² Unfortunately, no cooking installations were uncovered in activity Area F or inside Rooms One-Four that would solidify the oven or cooking-house theory. The ambiguous architecture and scant remains do not indicate with any certainty the functions of activity Area F. Consequently, the function of Room Five is at best an educated guess.

Room Six. Room Six (Locus 3–15) is located just outside the entrance to the dwelling in Room One. Its architecture is unclear, with the exception that it abuts the eastern face of the dwelling and has two southern boundary walls (Walls 7 and 9) that separate Room Six from Room Five. Seligman writes that “east of Wall W7 are a number of quarried areas of unclear nature.”¹⁴³ Due to its location outside the front of the dwelling, I speculate that Room Six was an outdoor courtyard. The most significant amount of fragmented artifactual remains were found on the floor of Room Six: 6 bowls, 4 cooking vessels, 1 jug, 2 jars, and 1 lamp.¹⁴⁴

The first cooking pot is more of the hybrid variety with an open mouth and a short, wide neck, with the exception that it does not have any handles. The second cooking vessel is of the hybrid type with a closed mouth, longer neck, and two handles that extend from its rim to its shoulder. The third cooking vessel is smaller than the previous two and is more like a small cooking jug (Philistine type) with a closed mouth, a short-rimmed neck, and no handles. The fourth and final cooking pot is similar to the third but seems smaller, with a more narrow mouth, a higher neck, and no handles (see [Fig. 3.10b](#), 14–17).¹⁴⁵ Philistine jugs, with or without handles, would have been placed on their sides directly into the heat source. Ben-Shlomo et al. write that the Philistine jugs “commonly have soot marks on their exterior, usually on one side, attesting to their use as cooking vessels [particularly when these burnt marks spots are opposite the handle].”¹⁴⁶ Hybrid pots with handles could have been used to hang over an open fire, while those with none could not. Room Six has one activity area labeled G.

Seligman writes that activity Area G “appears to have been used as an external refuse site,” not an outdoor courtyard.¹⁴⁷ This may be a possibility, but I do not find it convincing. The location of the remains so close to the dwelling and the lack of documented animal remains, which are often found in refuse sites, do not lend credence to the function of activity Area G as a refuse site, especially if the floor was a bedrock surface.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, the jug, jars, several cooking vessels, and bowls indicate that activity Area G could have been an area used for food preparation, perhaps after the stone was

quarried (conceivably to help build the dwelling?) and the leftover pits were used as some sort of cooking installations similar to the circular hearths created by the Philistines. The Philistine jugs were placed on top of the stones, often on their sides.¹⁴⁹ In their article on Aegean-style cooking jugs in Iron Age Philistia, Ben-Shlomo et al. write that “Canaanite-style cooking was probably carried out instead in vessels set into simple hearths and fire pits.”¹⁵⁰ If this statement is true, then it could be a possible explanation for the areas dug into the bedrock and the numerous cooking pots found in activity Area G. However, no records of ash or heat discoloration/stress found in the quarried areas have been provided.

Summary

The farmstead at Pisgat Ze’ev was poorly preserved and not excavated with a sensitivity to spatial analysis. The dwelling is not typical of the Iron Age style (“Israelite four-room house”), unless A. Faust is correct in arguing that the back broad room was once the western half of the dwelling and was not preserved at all. This seems unlikely since there does not appear to be a slope near the western face of the dwelling. Food-preparation-related items that were found in the dwelling include: 6 cooking pots (all of the hybrid or jug type) and a few quarried areas possibly used as cooking installations. One almost-complete rosette-type storage jar was found in the wine press and dates from the seventh and early sixth centuries BCE.¹⁵¹ The wine press is an obvious indicator that wine was produced on the Pisgat Ze’ev farmstead, but because of its small size it is likely that it provided for the needs of the household only.¹⁵²

Both farmsteads suggest that food was prepared in a variety of ways, utilizing a mixture of cooking pot technologies ranging from more hybrid style cooking pots to the Philistine-inspired cooking jug. Remains were published according to type, with only a vague description of their location within the dwelling. As was mentioned earlier, this style of excavation, documentation, and publication is not sensitive to spatial analysis. Compounded with this is the fact that no bioarchaeological remains were reported at Pisgat Ze’ev and no residue analysis was done on any of the cooking pot remains at either site. Unfortunately, these sites were excavated ten to twenty years ago, before spatial analysis became popular within the archaeology of Syro-Palestine. One can hope, therefore, now that household archaeology and spatial analysis has become more common, that excavations, documentation, and publications will reflect this influence.

Conclusion

The spatial analysis of two fortified settlements and two farmsteads in Iron II Judah provides thought-provoking information regarding domestic food

preparation. As was noted in the chapter introduction, both expected and unexpected variables made this analysis difficult, such as: natural and cultural formation processes, the method of excavation, documentation, publication, and the availability of published and non-published information (especially on the rural sites).

The cooking vessels at the fortified settlements were all of the pot or hybrid type, while the cooking vessels used on the farmsteads were all of the hybrid or jug type. A brief archaeological examination of the use of the different cooking-vessel forms will assist in the explanation of why the dwellings at the fortified sites contained larger- to medium-size vessels and the dwellings at the farmsteads contained medium- to small-size vessels. One variable in the following discussion is the possible impact destruction versus abandonment might have on the data; a possible scenario could be that the farmstead owners took their larger cooking pots with them. However, I believe the following discussion will show this to have been an unlikely situation.

Cooking pots

Most meals were prepared in cooking vessels that evolved throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages and were heavily influenced by the arrival of the Philistines. In the Hebrew Bible, words for cooking pots include: **פָּרוֹר** (Num. 11:8; Judg. 6:19; 1 Sam. 2:14); **סִיר** (Exod. 16:3; 2 Kgs 4:38–41; Jer. 1:13; Ezek. 11:3, 7, 11; Mic. 3:3; Zech. 14:20–21); **קִלְחָת** (1 Sam. 2:14; Mic. 3:3); and **דִּיר** (1 Sam. 2:14). Simply put, cooking vessels can be categorized into three basic forms: the Bronze Age or “Canaanite” pot or bowl, the Philistine jug, and the hybrid pot.¹⁵³

Traditional “Canaanite” cooking pots. Generally speaking, the traditional cooking pot of the Bronze Age was a large, open-mouthed vessel with the greatest volume, enabling not only larger quantities of food to be cooked but larger portions of meat. The pots were more versatile than their hybrid and jug counterparts in that they were conducive to various cooking techniques, including steaming, frying, simmering, and boiling. Their round base would not have enabled the pots to sit upright on a flat surface; hence, it can be deduced that these pots were either suspended over an open fire if they had handles, placed in the opening of an oven, or placed to rest against the stones of the installation.

Philistine cooking jugs. The small, closed-mouth cooking jug appeared on the southern Levantine scene simultaneously with the emergence of the Philistines in the Late Bronze Age. It is thought that the Philistines brought this cooking technology with them from the Aegean and it was soon adopted by the local Canaanite and Judahite populations. The cooking jug had the smallest volume of the vessel types, restricting it not only to smaller quantities of food but to smaller foodstuffs like cereals and vegetables. Anne Killebrew

notes that “quartz temper, the temper of choice for the Type II cooking jug potters, was ideal when a cooking vessel was heated directly, while other types of temper were better suited for indirect heating ... the walls of the Type II cooking jug are thin, which is especially useful in boiling.”¹⁵⁴ The flat base of the jug would have permitted the vessel to sit directly on a cooking surface or be propped against one. Soot marks are often found on one side of cooking jugs, indicating they were placed directly onto the heat source, propped on their side to prevent the foodstuffs inside from spilling out.¹⁵⁵

The size of the cooking jug is not conducive to cooking vast quantities or large portions of food, including meat. The butchering of an animal was not necessarily a rare occasion but it was one not taken lightly since it would have affected the condition of the herd and, consequently, the family. When such an occasion did arise, the entire animal was butchered and prepared. If the entire animal was not needed or not going to be consumed, the parts not needed would have been sold, perhaps even shared with other members of the household or extended family, or smoked for preservation and consumed at a later point.¹⁵⁶ If the entire animal was to be prepared, it could have been roasted over an open fire. On the other hand, if only parts of the animal were to be prepared, it could have been boiled or stewed in a pot. Even if an animal was butchered into small pieces, it would not have been small enough to fit into the body of the jug, but if it had, the quantity would have been insignificant – hardly enough to feed a household, let alone guests. Because of this, it can be deduced that the small cooking jug was used primarily to cook non-meat items that were small, could be placed directly into the fire, and could be boiled. Gruel made out of cereals and vegetables is an example of food typically prepared in such a manner.¹⁵⁷

Hybrid pots. The marriage of the large, open-mouthed cooking pot and the small, closed-mouth cooking jug produced a hybrid cooking pot that was the ideal combination of both vessels: it retained the more open mouth of the traditional pot but was not as open; its body was less wide but taller than the pot, yet not as narrow as the jug, allowing a higher quantity of food to be cooked than in the jug. It retained the handle from the jug and added another to the other side to make it more user-friendly, and its body and base were round like the pot. Like the pot, the hybrid’s cooking techniques would have been varied, tolerating more than just boiling like the jug, but not as multi-functional as the pot if not made of cooking ware.¹⁵⁸ It could have been used for smaller items like cereal and vegetables, and perhaps some smaller amounts of meat since its mouth was wider and its volume capacity was higher than the jug. The hybrid pot evolved from the more functional and pragmatic aspects of the cooking pot and jug and was used by all local peoples – Philistine, Canaanite, and Judahite.¹⁵⁹

Cooking installations

The cooking installations found at the four sites analyzed are labeled by the archaeologists as *tawabeen* – cone-shaped ovens made of clay, usually built over a base of fieldstones, with an opening at the top. No air vents have been found in the bases. These types of ovens are thought to have been used for baking bread. Bread was a mainstay in the diet of many ancient cultures, including Judah, as is evident from the plethora of references to it in the Hebrew Bible and other ancient Near Eastern texts; the Hebrew word for bread, , is synonymous with food.¹⁶⁰ Therefore, *tawabeen* are commonly found in most archaeological sites. In spite of the availability of ancient *tawabeen*, they are often found fragmented or incomplete, with just the base remaining or a few centimeters of clay walls above the stone base. Because of this, it is difficult to determine exactly the shape and function of these ovens.

It has been presumed that the top of the oven was open and that round-based cooking vessels (such as the traditional and hybrid pots) would have been placed on top of the hole with the fire underneath, thus allowing the food to boil without being in direct heat. However, this would effectively have cut off the air supply to the fire/coins, reducing the heat needed for cooking as the fire was extinguished. This presumption has been challenged as of late, for another reason. Ben Shlomo et al. argue that the *tabun*-style ovens would not have been able to sustain the weight or pressure of a cooking pot, nor would they have even fit in the typical opening based on the diameter of some of the almost-complete *tawabeen* found. They argue that

The upper part of tabuns is almost never preserved, but even if their tops are dome-shaped ... their opening is still too wide to accommodate an average cooking pot. In addition, such relatively thin and sharply inverted walls ... would clearly not be strong enough to withstand the weight of a full cooking pot.¹⁶¹

It must be pointed out, however, that most of the data used has been recovered from Philistine sites – Iron I Philistines not only cooked or baked with *tawabeen* but also with stone hearths. It seems logical to assume, based on the common occurrence of these hearths, that food would have been cooked/baked on them. The Philistine cooking jug would likely have been placed directly onto the hearth. These hearths are seldom found outside Philistia in the southern Levant and ceased to be used in Philistia in the Iron IIA period, with no clear indication as to why they fell out of disuse, while *tawabeen* are found in abundance both in Philistia and elsewhere in the adjoining regions. Without any evidence to direct us otherwise, it must be suggested that the majority of cooking and baking centered on the *tabun*. But how to cook without causing the fire to go out remains unanswered. Perhaps there was a second opening not at ground level that did not survive? Or was the pot removed to stoke the fire from atop or even placed inside the *tabun*? On the other hand, it could simply be that these other cooking installations did

not survive destruction or were re-used elsewhere. Ash in significant quantities is seldom found with *tawabeen*. Perhaps the ash was cleared and dumped into a refuse pit? Or perhaps it was used in other domestic chores and products? Unfortunately, there are many questions with little answers.

Only one of the sites analyzed above (Lachish) contained a positively identified second circular cooking installation in a housing complex. This could be a result of Lachish being a fortified settlement dedicated to the administration of the Judahite kingdom or because of its close proximity to Philistia. Due to the nearness of its Philistine neighbors, Lachish was more likely to recognize and embrace foreign technologies and practices, such as cooking techniques. In [chapter two](#), the “small-site” theory was discussed as a means for discovering indigenous equipment and techniques. I argued that the smaller, rural settlements retained more of their native culture, as opposed to larger, urban settlements that were influenced by outsiders, especially their foreign neighbors. Lachish’s location and interaction, both official and unofficial, with its neighbors suggests it is reasonable to suppose that outsiders influenced it. Perhaps the second cooking installation is a result of this influence.

Dwelling size

The farmstead dwellings (Khirbet er-Ras at 10.5×12.9 m; Pisgat Ze’ev at 10×8 m) are larger than the fortified settlement dwellings (Halif at 7.5×6.75 m; both wings of Lachish at 9×9 m). The dwellings in the Iron IIC stratum at Lachish and Halif are incomplete and an estimated size is not available; however, the Iron IIC Halif dwelling does seem to be similar in size to its Iron IIB counterpart. It must be noted that the measurements given for Lachish (9×9 m) are for the earlier levels of what Ussishkin argues are both “wings” of the dwelling. This research argued against this theory and concentrated on only the eastern dwelling, but the publication does not state the measurements for either “wings” separately, only the two combined.

The difference in the size of dwellings between the fortified settlements and farmsteads is not an original observation to this research. It has been noted that dwellings in fortified settlements were smaller than dwellings on farmsteads.¹⁶² This is usually attributed to the amount of space available. Fortified settlements were built within the settlement’s formal fortifications and had less space to utilize, whereas the rural farmsteads had no constricting fortifications – these are obvious assessments.

An alternative or supplemental argument is that the dwellings in rural settlements accommodated extended families and thus required more living space, whereas dwellings within fortified settlements accommodated nuclear families and thus required less living space. Bunimovitz and Faust argue that

The difference in size between urban and rural four-room houses seems to be a result neither of function (e.g. the agricultural needs of the rural

population) nor of circumstance (e.g. more free ground for building in villages than in cities). Rather, it is a faithful reflection of the different social units comprising the urban vs. rural sectors of Israelite society during the Iron Age. On the one hand, the comparatively small size of the urban four-room houses supports the common view that they housed nuclear families, comprising two parents and a couple of unmarried children. On the other hand, the large size of the rural houses indicates that they housed extended families of at least three generations, which probably included parents, married sons and their children, unmarried daughters, unmarried aunts, additional relatives, and possibly also servants.¹⁶³

The larger dwellings at the Khirbet er-Ras and Pisgat Ze'ev farmsteads support the argument that they housed extended families that would need many members to work the land and support the household. Dwellings in fortified settlements, on the other hand, did not have the immediate necessity of living off the land (unless allotted land outside the settlement fortifications to cultivate), thus nullifying the requisite for sizable and extended families.

Connecting the dots

The above observations, when connected, suggest that: (1) dwellings in fortified settlements were smaller in size, yet their members prepared food with the larger- to medium-size cooking vessels (the traditional cooking pot and hybrid pot), and possibly utilized cooking installations other than *tawabeen*. (2) Dwellings in farmsteads were larger, yet their members prepared food with the medium- to smaller-size cooking vessels (the hybrid pot and Philistine jug) and utilized *tawabeen* as the main cooking installation. These connections seem backwards – one would expect the larger dwellings in farmsteads with larger households to have used the larger pots and the smaller dwellings in fortified settlements with smaller households to have used smaller pots. Thus, other factors have clearly influenced this outcome – and the most logical explanation lies in the type of food prepared in the pots.

As was explained above, the larger, traditional cooking pots were used not only for cooking large quantities of food but also larger portions. The traditional pots were multi-functional and would have cooked butchered meat far better than any hybrid pot or Philistine jug. The hybrid pots and Philistine jugs would have held smaller amounts of food but were also best suited for boiling cereals (to make a porridge-like gruel) and vegetables. The smaller dwellings in the fortified settlements possessed the larger- to medium-size pots, perhaps because they ate more meat and were less dependent upon the fields that surrounded the settlement. Large herds from the fortified settlements could have been kept outside the settlement. Or perhaps the dependent villages and hamlets supplied the fortified settlement with their meat. The farmsteads equally would have had livestock, but perhaps they used

the medium hybrid pots and small Philistine jugs because they were more dependent upon their livestock for their secondary products, such as milk and wool, thus eating more vegetables and cereals and less meat.

Other questions arise from these connections: Does the size of the pot, and thus the type of food prepared, reflect how often food would have been prepared in both the fortified settlement and the farmstead? In his research on daily life in ancient Israel, O. Borowski concludes that

Most of the cooked meals were eaten at home or at cult places. Cooked meals at home were eaten at the end of the workday. On special occasions, such as when guests arrived, they were eaten at the appropriate time. Field workers must have eaten something before leaving for work (Prov. 31:15). At work, whether while herding or in the fields and orchards, food was mostly of the “take-out” variety.¹⁶⁴

The majority of the inhabitants of farmstead households would have spent their day tending to the chores of agricultural and animal husbandry. Certain times of year, planting and harvest, would have had all physically able members of the household participating. This could also have been true for inhabitants of the dwellings in fortified settlements if they had been allotted land outside the fortifications, which, as was seen in the settlement chapter, is very plausible. A quick and easy meal of porridge or gruel would have been prepared as breakfast in either settlement type. Households more dependent upon their herds, such as the farmsteads, would have had long distances to travel during the day and would not have returned to the dwelling for a noontime meal. Likewise, those out in the field may have had large fields, several fields, or a distance to travel to get to their fields and also would not have traveled back to the dwelling for a noontime meal. Consequently, households in either settlement type who went out into the fields or with the herds would have taken a “picnic”-type lunch with them: bread, cheese, yogurt, dried fruit, water, and seasonal vegetables, fruit, and parched grains.¹⁶⁵ Members of households within fortified settlements who were less dependent upon their fields and herds could have worked as tradesmen, artisans, or have been official employees of the monarchy, cult, or military. It is possible that those with activities closer to the dwelling returned for a noontime meal, but ethnographic evidence indicates that, regardless of the type and location of employment, noontime meals were raw and light.¹⁶⁶ Members of the household whose daily activities took place in or near the dwelling (in either settlement type) would have prepared the daily bread throughout the day and the main hot meal, which was served at the end of the work day. Biological factors, such as strength and reproduction, not sex or gender roles, lend credence to the theory that women’s daily activities centered around the dwelling and thus they would have been the main preparers of food.

Other elements that need to be considered are the cooking technologies and techniques at settlements known to have been under siege, such as Lachish.

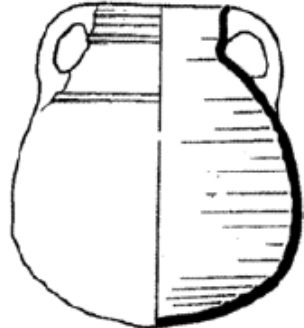
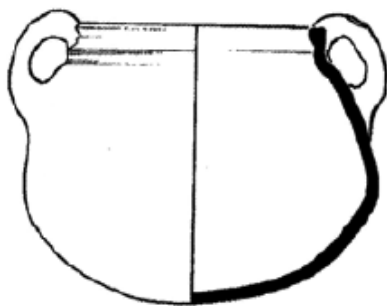
Siege conditions would have been difficult, resulting in the eventual scarcity of fresh produce and meat. Non-perishable items, such as cereals and grains, were easy to prepare, filling, and a little would have stretched a long way. The large number of hybrid pots (9) at Lachish may in part reflect this situation. The preparation of food during siege warfare is an aspect of food preparation that could merit further research.

The Iron IIC strata at Tel Lachish and Tel Halif contribute to the conversation. The dwellings at both sites are comparable in size and outline to their preceding Iron IIB levels. Very few domestic remains, either architectural or artifactual, were unearthed at Lachish. One *tabun* was uncovered while no cooking-vessel remains were found. Consequently, Iron IIC Lachish cannot be compared with either Iron IIB Lachish or with the Iron IIC strata at Halif, or the farmsteads of Khirbet er-Ras or Pisgat Ze'ev. Tel Halif, on the other hand, has substantially more domestic remains, including a *tabun* and vessels for food preparation. Out of the five cooking-vessel fragments found, three are identifiable: 1 is of the traditional type and 2 are of the hybrid type.

The types of cooking vessels unearthed at Iron IIC Halif substantiate the conclusion to the analysis of Iron IIB fortified settlements and Iron IIC farmsteads: that cooking vessels at the fortified settlements were all of the large traditional pot or medium hybrid form, while the cooking vessels from the farmsteads were all of the medium hybrid or small Philistine jug type. Chronology does not seem to be a factor in pot size; there does not seem to be any change in cooking-vessel size and type between the Iron IIB and C periods. The Iron IIC level at Halif corroborates the hypothesis that dwellings at fortified settlements utilized larger- to medium-size cooking vessels and farmsteads utilized medium-to small-size cooking vessels, not because of the size of the household but because of the type of food prepared – urban settlements consumed more meat while the rural consumed more grains and vegetables.

The three types of cooking vessels, traditional, hybrid, and Philistine, are not confined to one standard size but fall into a range, albeit a narrow one. However, from this research one can suggest that the size of cooking vessels is not correlated with the size of the household, rather it is indicative of the type of food that was prepared and, consequently, its gastronomical daily life.

(a)



(b)

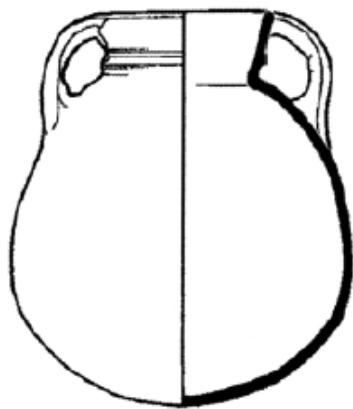
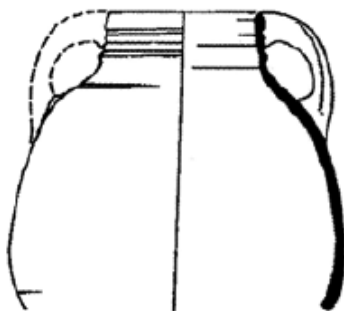


Figure 3.8(a–b) Cooking-vessel plates from Tel Lachish. *Source:* Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University (Ussishkin, *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, I V.1, 858–67).

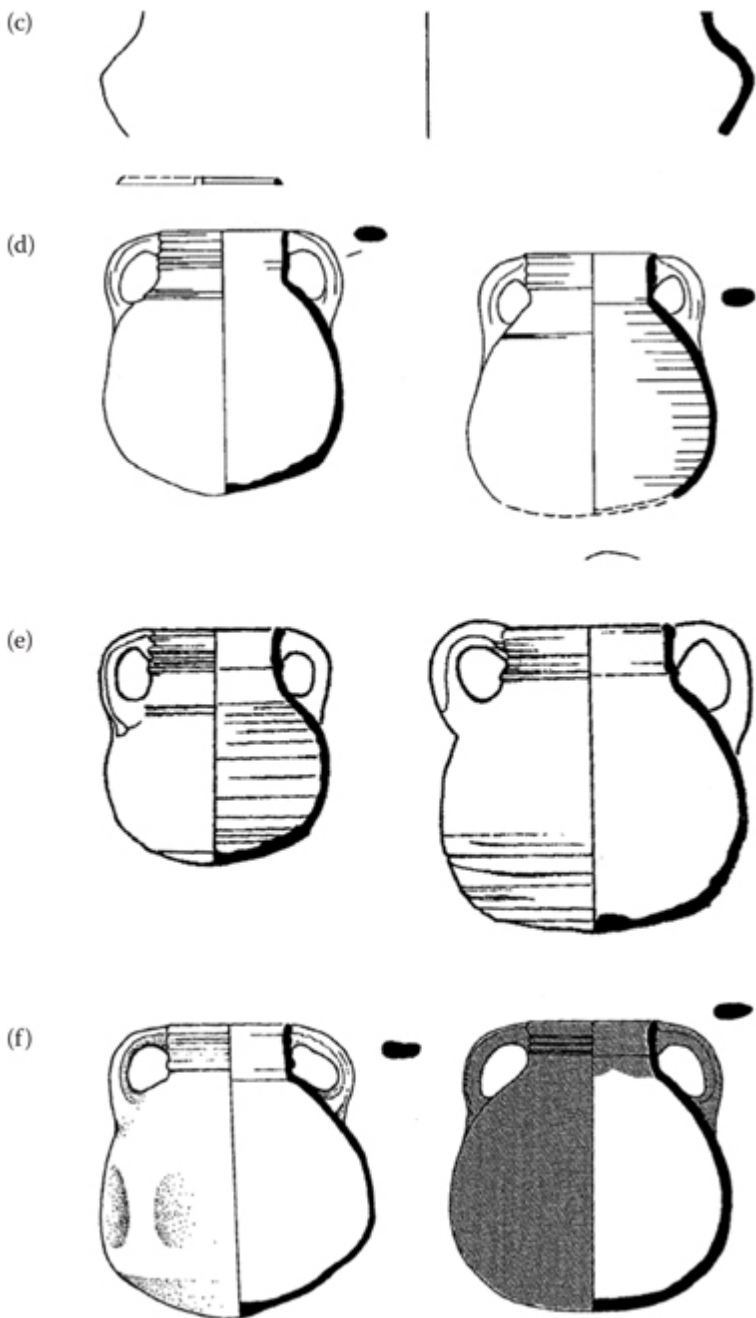


Figure 3.8(c-f) Cooking-vessel plates from Tel Lachish. *Source:* Institute of Archaeology at Tel Aviv University (Ussishkin, *Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish*, I V.1, 858–67).

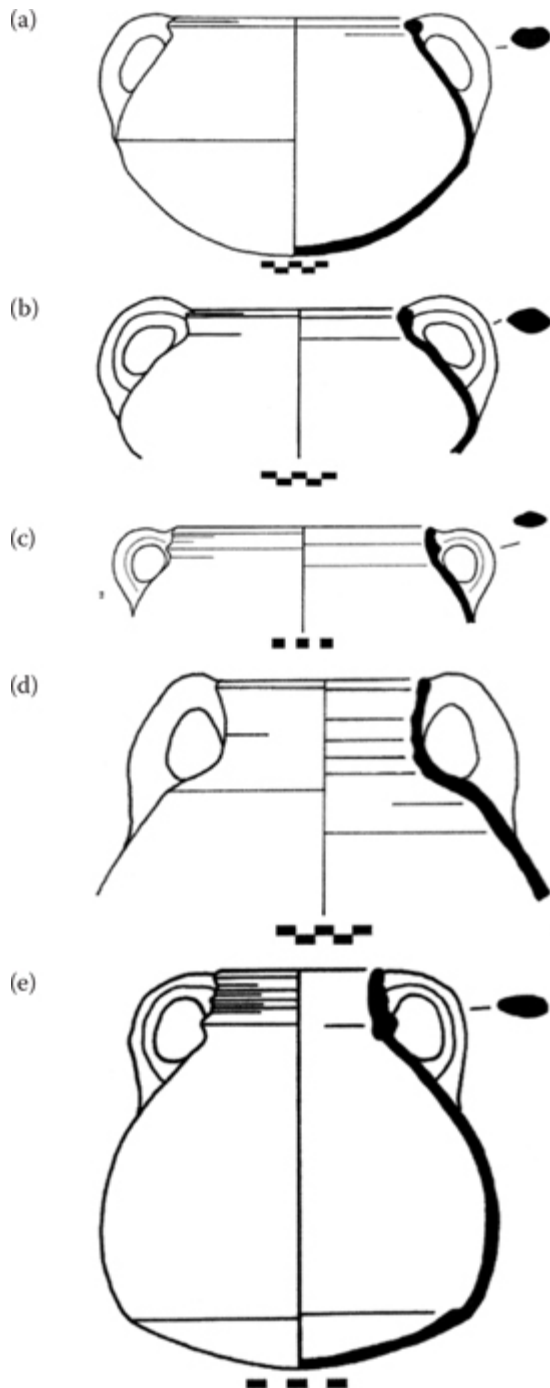


Figure 3.9 Cooking-vessel plates from Tel Halif. *Source:* Lahav Research Project (www.cobbmsstate.edu/digmaster).

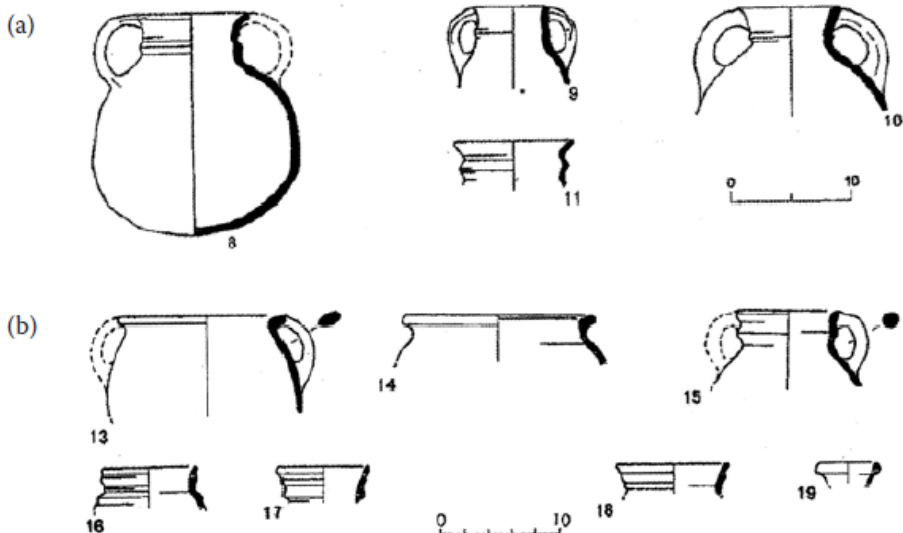


Figure 3.10 Cooking-vessel plates from Khirbet er-Ras and Pisgat Ze'ev. *Source:* Israel Antiquities Authority (Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 51; Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 69).

Chapter 4

BROADER PERSPECTIVES: ART, LITERATURE, AND ETHNOGRAPHY

Introduction

The spatial analysis of dwellings in Iron II Judah and the concentration on their food-preparation vessels and installations offers some interesting suggestions regarding the daily preparation of food in both urban and rural environments. After the initial spatial analysis, the second aspect of household archaeology occurs by including the addition of other resources to clarify and expand upon the suggestions made. In general, these secondary resources can include (in no particular order): archaeological comparative data, texts, representational art, ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, experimental archaeology, scientific analysis, and studies of gender.¹ More specifically, this research will utilize: ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeological studies of present-day traditional societies in the Middle East, representational art, and extra-biblical ancient Near Eastern texts to illuminate how food was and still is prepared.

Definitions

Ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology

Present-day traditional societies are a primary analogous resource for ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeological studies. Unfortunately, with the ever-increasing spread of modernity and technology these traditional societies are becoming increasingly rare. Before explaining

how these analogous secondary resources will be used, a brief reminder of their definitions is appropriate.

Ethnography is “the study of contemporary cultures through direct observation,” while ethnoarchaeology is “the study of contemporary cultures in order to understand the behaviors and relationships that underlie the production and use of the material culture of a past society.”² Observing and studying the remains, activities, and behavior of a present-day traditional culture in various areas of daily life provides insight into, and the possible reconstruction of, the daily life of their ancient counterparts. Experimental archaeology is “the study of past behavioral processes through experimental reconstruction under carefully controlled scientific conditions” and does not necessarily have to be conducted by a member of a traditional society.³ In fact, experimental archaeology has become quite popular on television programs that show, say, how the pyramids were made or how flints were used.

For this research, various studies of present-day traditional societies in the Middle East have been investigated, with particular attention paid to their baking and cooking techniques. Ethnography and ethno-archaeology will also prove to be valuable assets in spotlighting the cooking techniques employed by ancient Judah’s modern counterparts, such as the Druze communities and other traditional villages in the southern Levant. The information gleaned from these communities will provide information that will help reconstruct how daily food was prepared in antiquity. However, one important element must be kept in mind when conducting these types of analogous studies: cultures do not remain stagnant over time. It is possible that practices of present-day traditional societies have evolved to such an extent that they hardly reflect the practices of their ancestors – this possibility must always be taken into account. Fortunately, there have been numerous studies on baking in Middle Eastern traditional societies that reflect, more or less, similar baking practices across the board. On the other hand, the amount of ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeological studies available on cooking in general is sparse. Baking has been an *en vogue* topic for some time in anthropological and ethnographic circles; one can only hope that this will spill over into the realm of cooking as well.

Ancient Near Eastern literature and representational art

The art and literature of any society reflects actual and/or idealized aspects of that society. This holds true for ancient societies whose members were concerned with their daily activities, which are thus reflected in their art and literature; therefore, an imperative resource in the study of ancient societies can be found in their texts and representational art. Texts of primary importance for this study include any from the ancient Near East that mention cooking vessels, installations, or the ingredients and techniques of cooking and baking associated with those artifacts. Passages of the Hebrew Bible that mention the preparation of food in domestic contexts will be considered more

fully in [Chapter 5](#).

Still, in a time when the majority of people were illiterate, texts often represent the experience or ideology of elite writers or redactors and may or may not adequately reflect the daily life of the average non-elites of that same society. This does not mean, however, that pertinent texts cannot be included; what it does mean is that the authorship factor must be kept in mind whenever texts are included in the analysis. The same can be said for items of representational art, whether they be reliefs, tapestries, frescos, or figurines made of wood or stone – the context of the pieces must be considered. More often than not, representational art is typically found in the palaces, tombs, and temples of the elite and is very rarely found in the dwellings of the common person. Luckily, many depict scenes of daily activities that reflect not only the daily life of the elite but of the commoner as well. To begin, ethnographic, ethno-archaeological, and experimental archaeological studies on baking will be examined; then cooking in present-day traditional societies in the Middle East will be considered; followed by the representational art and ancient Near Eastern textual evidence of both baking and cooking.

Baking

Ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology

Modern ethnographers and ethnoarchaeologists have observed several types of ovens used for baking bread in present-day traditional societies. Chief among them are: the *saj*, *wajdiah/arsah*, *tannur*, and *tabun*.⁴ The *saj* is not an oven per se in that bread is not put into it; rather, it is cooked upon it. The *saj* is a rounded metal disk that is placed over the open fire, resting on two or three rocks (Isa. 44:19) or perhaps the ancient griddle or baking tray (מַחֲבֵת), which has been documented, although not to the extent of bread ovens (Lev. 2:5; 6:21; 7:9; Ezek. 4:3).⁵ A lump of dough is floured and flattened on a breadboard before it is thrown back and forth between the palms until it is a thin flap of dough. When the *saj* is hot enough, the flap of unleavened dough is placed on the metal surface and browned on each side. When both sides are toasted, the flap of bread is drooped over one of the stones to stay warm and bake further.⁶

The *wajdiah* and *arsah* are variations of the same type of clay oven that is frequently found in present-day traditional villages. All three types have two tiers, and stand about 0.8 m high, with a metal sheet separating the two levels. The front of the structure is open and allows for easy access. A fire is built on the ground level underneath the metal sheet upon which the bread is baked. The primary variation between the *wajdiah* and *arsah* is the shape of the structure. Modern *wajdiahs* have rounded tops, while the modern *arsahs* have flat tops and are more rectangular in shape. In an ethnographic study

conducted by A. McQuitty, Jordanian villagers report that the *wajdiah/arsah* oven has its advantages over other types of ovens (e.g. the *tannur* or *tabun*): it can be portable, the bread baked is larger because one loaf covers the entire metal sheet, and it requires less fuel.⁷ Both the *saj* and the *wajdiah/arsah* can be portable and used anywhere.

A *tannur* (plural: *tannaneer*) is a conical or beehive-shaped clay oven, often packed with pottery on the outside to retain heat, which stands about 1 m high. The *tannur* has two openings: one at the top that allows access to the inside of the oven, and one at the bottom that serves as a flue. *Tannaneer* are found today mostly in Syria, Lebanon, India (where it is called a *tandoori*), and some parts of Jordan. They have been found either dug into or sitting on top of the ground as a single structure or as part of a group of ovens and cooking facilities, with or without metal lids for the hole at the top.⁸ The remains of *tannur-type* ovens have been documented throughout excavations in the ancient Near East. In fact, as E. van der Steen notes, “Ovens found in excavations are usually identified with the *tannur*, although in publications they are more often than not referred to as *tabun*.”⁹

To use the *tannur*, a fire would be built on the floor and its ashes raked out from the flue hole at the bottom of the oven. McQuitty notes that the fire would be lit and, when it reached an appropriate temperature, the ashes would be raked out prior to use.¹⁰ Bread was made by mixing four handfuls of flour, salt, and a cup of water, adding flour and water as needed to create a medium-stiff dough. Dough would be slapped onto the walls of the *tannur* until finished baking. However, there is some confusion as to how bread was baked in a *tannur*. Robert Curtis writes that “A large opening at the top allowed access to the inside of the oven where the cook would stick moist dough, shaped into circular pancakes to the walls.”¹¹ Jean Bottero agrees in his article that the unleavened dough was stuck onto *interior* walls,¹² but in his book he argues that it was stuck onto the *exterior* surface of the *tannur*.¹³ If the outside of the *tannur* is covered with broken pottery sherds in order to retain heat (like the one found at Tel Rehov, Israel),¹⁴ it is unlikely that dough would have been stuck to the exterior walls. But not all *tannaneer* necessarily had these additional sherds. On the other hand, this may simply be an error in the translation of the original text. Moreover, Bottero adds that one of the Yale culinary tablets reads, “Two ceramic dishes, each covered with a layer of still uncooked dough, were cooked on the upper part of the *tinuru* [or *tannur*], which was uncovered.”¹⁵ This tablet illustrates that another method of baking was done on platters placed over the top opening of the *tannur* and not stuck to the walls at all. The term *tannur* (תַּנּוּר) is found in the Hebrew Bible 15 times, seven of which refer to an oven used to bake bread (Exod. 8:3; Lev. 2:4, 7:9; 11:35; 26:26; Hos. 7:4, 6–7).

A *tabun* is a dome-shaped oven made of clay with a height of ca. 30 cm and is commonly found today in Jordan and in Palestinian villages in the Occupied Territories and in Israel. Like the *tannur*, modern *tawabeen* also

have two openings: one at the top to allow access to the inside and one at the bottom acting as a flue. The floor of the *tabun* is made either of clay, pebbles, or pottery sherds.¹⁶ After the fire has heated the floor and the walls of the *tabun*, the coals and ashes are cleared and dough is placed on the bottom of the *tabun*, not on the inner wall (like a *tannur*). McQuitty writes that *after* the dough is baked, the *tabun* is then covered with dung cakes, smoldering oil pulp, or chaff in order to conserve heat; today, metal lids are used to cover the top opening, but in antiquity lids would have been ceramic or made of *tabun* material, which consists of sun-dried mud “tempered with variations of chaff, goat or sheep hair, small pebbles and quartz.”¹⁷ However, E. van der Steen writes that, for similar reasons of heat retention, the *tabun* is covered with dung cakes *while* the bread is baking so that only the opening at the top is exposed, but the hole is covered with a lid.¹⁸ To make matters even more confusing, J. Bottero argues that the *tabun* oven was used to bake leavened bread as opposed to unleavened bread. He writes,

This leavened bread could only be baked in conditions that were quite different from those used for baking unleavened bread on the *tinuru*. A different type of hearth was needed: an environment filled with hot air, so that there was empty space around the bread to be baked. This is what we call the “dome oven,” in which, as is done in our own baker’s ovens, balls of dough were simply placed on the burning “base,” which had been cleared of any traces of fuel.¹⁹

Bottero’s assessment of bread-baking techniques in ancient Mesopotamia is worthy of note; however, McQuitty and van der Steen do not mention whether or not the bread was leavened. Perhaps Bottero’s understanding reflects an elite context; surely, the average Mesopotamian would not have had the luxury of two different types of bread ovens. Perhaps bread molds in Mesopotamia were baked in one type of an oven (a *tabun*?) over the other.²⁰ Furthermore, Bottero’s argument does not reflect the techniques used in ancient Israel and Judah nor in present-day traditional societies, as will be shown below.

Traditional societies still exist in many parts of the world, although their numbers are dwindling due to the rapid spread of industrialism and technology. Cultural anthropologists, ethnographers, and ethnoarchaeologists are accelerating their observations of these traditional societies in fear of their extinction. Many of these societies still employ the bread ovens described above. But, from an archaeological perspective, it only makes sense to focus on the two types found in excavations in the southern Levant: *tannaneer* and *tawabeen*.

Both *tannaneer* and *tawabeen* are still in use today, although not nearly as much as they would have been in antiquity. Bradley Parker’s study of *tandir* (a variation of the words *tandoori* and *tannur*) ovens in present-day southeastern Anatolia provides a glimpse into how *tannur* ovens could have been used in

antiquity.²¹ Parker studied the use of *tandir* ovens by eleven families from four different villages and documented their consistent employment. Unleavened dough made of flour, salt, and water is shaped into small balls. The interior surface of the oven is wiped clean before each use and is heated with fuel consisting of dung and dried brush an hour or so before baking. The unleavened dough balls are flattened and brushed with egg before being stuck to the walls of the oven. Parker estimates that approximately ten to fifteen loaves can be cooked simultaneously and this is usually done in the late afternoon to avoid the heat of the day and so that the bread is hot from the oven for the evening meal.²² Parker also makes note that, in the present-day villages under consideration, the *tandir* ovens were “almost exclusively used to make unleavened flat bread” and argues that “this is reflected in the structure of *tandir* ovens which are clearly not designed for other types of cooking.” He supports this argument by citing only three instances where the *tandir* was used by his informants to cook something other than bread: twice eggplants were roasted and once peppers were roasted.²³ As will be shown further on, other ethnoarchae-ologists disagree with this observation, but it can perhaps be used to demonstrate that oven use varied regionally.

Parker goes on to note that the majority of the *tandirs* were not found in individual homes. Rather, most villages had common oven houses between houses or on the street; only the wealthy possessed their own *tandir* at or near their homes or house compounds. The communal bread oven could be an indicator as to why the *tandir* was very rarely used to cook something besides bread: individual houses or compounds had their own heat source (hearth, oven, etc.) for cooking, but bread was baked in the communal ovens. Parker’s informants are quoted as saying that communal ovens conserve fuel, but no doubt the social component cannot be denied. In one village, even the wealthier families that had their own *tandir* would not light them every day. Instead, the village women would agree which oven they would fuel up to use that day and would organize the daily baking accordingly.²⁴

McQuitty compared present-day bread ovens in five different villages in Jordan to ones uncovered at four archaeological sites in that same country. She found that of the 23 modern bread ovens observed, 17 were of the *tabun* type, one was of the *tannur* type, and five were of the *wagdiah* type. She describes the use of the most popular form of bread oven, the *tabun*:

The method of use involves lighting a fast, wood fire in the sanur (through the side flue) prior to use and when an adequate temperature is reached, raking out the ashes and slapping the pancakes of bread onto the floor of the tabun. After use, the tabun is covered with a heap of slow-burning, heat-retaining dung.²⁵

In one example, she cites the family’s use of a *tabun* house, located next to the stable, which contained a salt bin, a *tabun*, and a dividing wall separating the fuel (dung) from the work area. The roofing material of these *tabun*

houses ranged from stone vaults to mud and iron girder to wood beams packed with reeds. Whatever roofing material was used, McQuitty noted that the ceilings of the *tabun* houses were charred and black with smoke. In modern Jordan, indoor *tawabeen* were regularly located in enclosed spaces without concern for setting fire to the ceiling or worrying about smoke build-up. Scholars should be cautious, therefore, in insisting that all ancient *tawabeen* would have been located in unroofed areas if they were located inside a building (in an indoor courtyard).²⁶ In fact, McQuitty notes in her conclusions that of the 23 present-day ovens studied, 19 were in some sort of housing. She suggests that “either the climate has grown considerably worse, or that the interpretation of ovens being open in courtyards could be reconsidered.”²⁷ In archaeological contexts, ovens are found both in courtyards and indoors; but when ovens are found indoors, many archaeologists interpret the room as unroofed or an indoor courtyard. McQuitty’s observation lends credence to the theory that the ovens that were inside homes were in closed, roofed spaces.

Noor Mulder-Heymans’s article on bread ovens in Syria raises some interesting counterpoints.²⁸ Using both ethnoarchaeology and experimental archaeology, she concludes that the *tannur* and *tabun* are used differently in various areas: the Druze in the south used a partially in-ground *tabun* in a separate oven house. The female baker, with her arm covered in a woolen pad, slapped the dough on the inside walls of the *tabun*. The top opening was covered with a flat metal sheet and it was either covered with manure to retain the heat or a kettle was placed on top of it to boil. Better yet, another Druze family placed a large metal sheet over the top opening of the *tabun* and used it more like a *saj*, cooking the large, thin bread on the metal instead of in the *tabun*.

In the area around Damascus, a *tannur* was used in the corner of a domestic courtyard. While a description of the baking is not given, Mulder-Heymans documents that the *tannur* was used to grill meat either in a kebab-type fashion or by wrapping in aluminum foil after the bread is baked.²⁹ This documentation provides valuable information on how meat can be cooked in a *tannur*. In the western part of Syria, Mulder-Heymans notes that, because it is a highly developed agricultural area, very few people still use the old baking ovens. One village, however, was found that still used a communal *tannur* daily to bake their bread. The difference in the size of *tannaneer* is mentioned; household *tannaneer* were smaller (ca. 125 cm high with an opening of ca. 40–50 cm) than those used in restaurants or bakeries (190 cm high with an opening of ca. 70 cm).³⁰ In the north of Syria, a local family had an oven house with a *tannur*, *tabun*, and a *wajdiah*. The oven house was located in the corner of the courtyard next to the kitchen. The *tannur* was elevated and tilted, making it easier for the women to insert the dough.³¹

While in Syria, Mulder-Heymans conducted an archaeological experiment by observing some local Druze villagers who still made their own ovens and

baked their daily bread in a *tabun* oven and cooking pot. The *tabun* was made with a mixture of studio clay,³² clay from the Jordan River, and straw mixed by foot. Loaves of clay (ca. 2 lbs. each) were formed and placed on a board into a horseshoe shape that was smoothed with water by hand. No other elements for insulation were included. The *tabun* had an opening at the top to hold a pot and an opening on the side that acted as a flue.³³ Once the *tabun* and pot were complete, the experimental cooking and baking commenced. Only the experimental baking will be discussed here; the cooking will be addressed later on. Mulder-Heymans records,

A fire was made inside the oven with manure pieces and sticks for fuel ... four handfuls of a flour/salt mixture were blended with one half cup of water in a bowl to make a smooth paste. More flour and water were added to make dough for a flat bread to be cooked on the outside of the oven. It took about two hours of stoking the oven to generate enough heat on the outer surface of the oven to cook the dough.³⁴

She did not ask the Druze why they baked their bread on the outside of the oven. Perhaps the lowness of the oven made it difficult to put the bread inside the oven unless you were sitting or kneeling in front of it. The height of the *tabun* seems to allow the bread to be placed within easy reach and far enough from the coals to prevent scorching. Alternatively, perhaps the oven walls were thin enough for the bread to be baked on the exterior walls. Her research proves that there is no consistency concerning *tabun* or *tannur* ovens. Some present-day traditional societies choose to use *tawabeen*, while other *tannaneer*; some choose to bake their bread on the inside of the oven, others on the outside, still others on a metal sheet atop the oven.

Ancient Near Eastern iconography and literature

Bread was the main staple of the ancient world; thus, it is only fitting that the preparation and consumption of bread be described and portrayed in other ancient Near Eastern literature or in representational art or iconography. A look at how bread is described and portrayed can help illuminate how bread was prepared in Iron IIB-C Judah.

There were two types of bread dough: unleavened (חֲמִצָּה) and leavened (חֲמִצָּה). Unleavened is a mixture of flour, water, and a pinch of salt, which is kneaded into dough. The type of bread produced was flat and did not store for long. Leavened has a yeast product added to the dough, such as sourdough (dough left out overnight to ferment) or brewer's yeast (yeast from making beer).³⁵ Leavened bread kept longer than its unleavened cousin. Grain was ground daily into flour using grinding stones, which consisted of one large, immobile stone or slab and a smaller stone for rubbing back and forth against the grain that was placed between the two stones. As shown in the ethnographic/ethnoarchaeological studies above, both unleavened and

leavened dough can be baked in either types of bread oven (the *tannur* or *tabun*) either inside, outside, or on top of the oven. Other more immediate means of baking include atop a hot stone or in the ashes of a fire.

The basics of baking bread seem simple enough, until one considers baking in ancient Near Eastern literature and representational art. Boterro has translated the Yale Babylonian tablets; three tablets, written in cuneiform around 1600 BCE and found in the drawers of Yale University's *Babylonian Collection*, include 40 recipes of Mesopotamian cuisine, primarily for the cooking of meat in elite contexts.³⁶ This rare glimpse into the preparation of food in the ancient Near East can and should be used in the present study because food items and their preparation by the elite surely would have trickled down to the "common folk" and throughout the wider ancient Near East. The public certainly would have adapted "elite" recipes because of minor regionalism, a lack of ingredients, or formal knowledge of what a particular recipe called for. Like other ancient popular or chic trends (e.g. Egyptian hieroglyphs, jewelry), recipes and ingredients would have been popular and sought after. Also, the lapse of time between the Yale culinary tablets and the study at hand is not an issue because the evolution of food preparation in antiquity was a slow one.

One recipe in the Yale culinary tablets calls for the baking of bread to accompany the meat served almost like a potpie. As the "small birds" cook,

soak cleaned *sasku*-flour in milk, and when it is well saturated, knead it with *siqqu*-brine. Then, being careful that it remains pliant, add, while continuing to knead, *samidu*, mashed leek and garlic, milk and some of the cooking juices. Divide the dough into two equal parts. Let one half rise and reserve in the pot; from the other half, bake shaped (?) *sebetu*-rolls in the oven, and remove when done. Knead more *sasku*-flour that has been soaked and saturated with milk, adding [cooking juices] (?) and mashed leek, garlic and *samidu* to the milk. Take a *makaltu*-platter that can [ho]ld the bi[rds] and line it with [the dough], which should somewhat overlap the rim of the platter. Find the large [vessel] in which half of the previous dough was reserved; set that dough on another *makaltu*-platter and line it (with the dough). Choose the *makaltu*-platter so that it covers the space taken up by the birds, and first sprinkle it with mint. Line it with the dough that you had reserved in the large vessel to make a cover. Then remove [the ... from the stove] and [c]over the stove's upper opening with it, putting two [...] thereon. Place the two dough-lined *makaltu*-platters on top. When cooked, remove from the stove and detach just the dough for the "cover" from its platter, rub it with [oi], and reser[ve it on the p]latter until just before serving ... [Just be]fore serving, take the *makaltu*-platter with the bottom crust, and carefully arrange the birds on it. Scatter over the birds the chopped pluck and gizzards from the pot, and *sebetu*-rolls that

were baked in the oven ... Cover the assemblage with the crust cover, and bring to the table.³⁷

A similar, albeit smaller, recipe mentions baking, as well:

Meanwhile, soak *sasku*-flour in milk and [knead] with *siqqu*-brine, together with mashed [le]ek and garlic, and the cooking juices. Let the [dough] rise and reserve in a pot... Cover a *makaltu*-platter large enough for the bird with the dough (that has been kneaded) with *siqqu*-brine, and expose [the platter] with the dough lining it to the (heat of the) oven. Remove the *makaltu*-platter from the fire ...³⁸

These recipes illustrate two main points: first, that bread was not only baked in the *tannur* (Bottero argues that the Babylonians used the *tannur* and not the *tabun*)³⁹ but also on the covered opening at the top. Second, these recipes demonstrate that there was a wide variety of breads baked. In fact, Bottero cites an Assyrian “encyclopedia” that, among other things, has two tablets dedicated to the subject of food and drink, of which “200 varieties of breads are listed, depending on the flours, the kneading, the additives, the flavors, and the cooking methods, as well as the presentations.”⁴⁰ Curtis notes that there were as many as 300 varieties of breads subject to the type of grain used, quality, color, additives, baking process, size and geographic origin, or use. He includes a list of some of the ingredients added to the dough: ghee, dates, milk, cheese, fruits, and sesame oils.⁴¹

The baking of bread is frequently depicted in Egyptian paintings, reliefs, and in wooden models. In a painting from the tomb of Rameses III (20th Dynasty, ca. 1185–1153 BCE) a court baker is placing dough on the outside of a round oven to bake, while a painting taken from the tomb of Ken-amun depicts a baker removing the bread from inside a round oven. Curtis argues that the painting of the bread being baked on the outside surface of the oven is not accurate and that it is “most likely an artistic convention to indicate to the viewer the bread baking on the inside of the oven and so hidden from view.”⁴² This may seem like a logical conclusion; however, as was shown in the ethnographic study above, there are present-day traditional societies in the Middle East that bake their bread on the outside surface of their bread oven. Keeping this in mind, it could be possible that the painting in the tomb of Rameses III is accurately reflecting one of the ways bread was baked in ancient Egypt. A wooden model from the tomb of Sebekhetepi at Beni Hasan (Egypt Middle Kingdom, 2125–1795 BCE) shows various aspects of food preparation, including the making of bread and beer and the butchering of cattle. The figure to the left is shown baking with two different types of ovens: a tall, rounded oven like a *tannur*, and a shorter one with a flat top.⁴³

Summary

The ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, as well as the ancient Near Eastern literature and representational art cited above, prove that the baking of bread in the ancient Near East at large was anything but predictable and prosaic. In fact, it was quite the opposite; the ancients employed an exciting variety when it came to baking bread: the type of oven used, the way it was used, the type of flour, how it was kneaded, and additional ingredients added (if any). The sophistication of bread preparation in the ancient Near East is remarkable and, admittedly, a bit surprising. It is important to keep in mind that the majority of ancient Near Eastern literature and art rarely reflects the everyday life of the common person; rather, it usually reflects the life and special occasions of the elite. On the other hand, it cannot be assumed that the tools and techniques used by the elite did not filter down to the common person, a point J. Bottero concedes by stating,

Of course we must expect that everyday cuisine, for which we have practically no evidence whatsoever, could have dimly reflected something of the studied gastronomic refinement and requirements demonstrated by our recipes. In any culture and society, taste is readily contagious, even if being able to indulge it only a bit required, because of economic constraints, a clever combination of ingenuity, shortcuts, and substitutions.⁴⁴

In what capacity it is not always easy to tell, but it can be stated with certainty that bread, the necessity of daily life, and its preparation would have evolved over time. For certainly the sheer amount of baking done on a daily basis would have given rise to a number of methods of preparation – if only to provide some relief from and variety in the mundane routine.

Cooking

Ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology

Experimental archaeological studies and ethnographic/ethnoarchaeological observations regarding cooking unfortunately are not as prolific as their baking counterpart. The work by E. van der Steen and A. McQuitty on bread ovens and baking mention in passing that *tannaneer* and *tawabeen* were also used for cooking other foodstuffs.⁴⁵ But documentation on how present-day traditional societies in the Middle East cook and what they cook appears to be of less interest than baking and it is not apparent why it receives so little attention. One could guess, on the other hand, that perhaps there are hardly any cooking techniques practiced today that reflect ancient ones, or perhaps the subject is too complicated, with too many variables, to be able to conclude anything with certainty. Whatever the reasons, the lack of information and

interest in cooking needs to be remedied. This research has had to make do with the limited information available.

It has long been suggested that cooking pots could be placed over the opening at the top of the bread oven to cook other foodstuffs. More recently, D. Ben Shlomo et al. have argued that this is not possible, that “their [the *tawabeen*] opening is still too wide to accommodate an average cooking pot” and that “the relatively thin and sharply inverted walls ... would clearly not be strong enough to withstand the weight of a full cooking pot.”⁴⁶ These are noteworthy arguments; however, bread ovens found in excavations are almost never complete. In addition, if the oven walls were lined on the outside with pottery sherds, this may have decreased the opening of the oven by a few centimeters, allowing for the pot to sit comfortably in the opening. Ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeology research will prove helpful in clarifying this matter.

Mulder-Heymans’s ethnoarchaeological research on traditional bread ovens in the Middle East was cited above regarding oven types and baking techniques. She also conducted an experiment with some local Druze villagers by creating a *tabun* oven and a cooking pot out of clay. Like other *tabun* ovens, it contained a side opening for fuel and another at the top. The cooking pot resembled the Iron Age hybrid style, minus the handles. After a fire was made inside the oven, the pot was placed on the top opening while the flat pieces of dough were cooked on the outside of the *tabun* for about two hours. Mulder-Heymans writes,

Olive oil was heated in the cook pot, onions were sautéed in the oil then lentils and water were poured in almost to the top and brought to a boil... The lentils were cooked after about one hour in the pot... Results: the bread and lentils were delicious.⁴⁷

Mulder-Heymans’s experimental archaeology project raises some interesting questions: could the same result be achieved in *tawabeen* with no secondary side opening or flue, which were typical in Israel and Judah?⁴⁸ Unfortunately, I found no ethnographical, ethnoarchaeological, or experimental archaeological studies that conducted such an experiment. However, Mulder-Heymans’s experiment shows that cooking can be conducted on a *tabun* bread oven that has a side flue.

Elsewhere, Mulder-Heymans notes how villagers in different regions of Syria used the *tabun* or *tannur*. She writes that in the south a Druze woman covered her oven with a flat metal sheet while baking and afterwards, because the *tabun* was still very hot, she placed a kettle on top of the sheet to boil water. In contrast, when villagers in the north finished baking bread, they either placed a metal sheet on the top of the oven to use as a cooking surface, cooked meat on skewers or wrapped in foil inside the oven, or placed a cooking pot inside the oven.⁴⁹ In both cases, the cooking pots used were smaller than the diameter of the top opening, as Ben Shlomo et al. argue.

However, this does not mean that bread ovens were not used to cook as well as to bake. On the contrary, as was shown earlier, cooking pots come in a variety of sizes. The larger ones could have been placed over the top opening, as documented by Mulder-Heymans, while the smaller ones could have been placed inside the oven, demonstrated by the soot marks on the side or bottom of the vessel. Her ethnographic/archaeological research proves that traditional bread ovens, such as *tawabeen* and *tannaneer*, are used to bake and to cook food in present-day traditional societies;⁵⁰ consequently, it can be suggested that these cooking techniques, which use similar oven structures (minus the flue?) and cooking pots, reflect ancient practices.

Patty Watson's ethnographic research is a unique resource in that it documents practically every aspect of daily life for a village in western Iran. The amount of detail about its kinship patterns, agricultural methods, and household activities (like weaving) has no equal (at least that I could find). However, it is surprising to note what little space she devotes to cooking. She notes the consumption of large quantities of bread (cooked over a *saj*) and tea for the morning and midday meals, while soup is added to the menu for the evening meal. Eggs and meat may supplement, albeit only rarely. Watson writes,

If for some reason a man decided to kill one of his animals (because it is sick, has met an accidental death, or he needs ready cash immediately), he lets this be known; then those who want to or can afford a little meat come to his house ... [it is] butchered, skinned, then chopped – bones, cartilage, meat, and all – with an adze or ax until the correct number of portions is attained ... Such meat is always used in stew because that is the most economical meat dish; hence it does not make much difference what shape the meat is in.⁵¹

Watson also notes that if a wild sheep were killed while one of the men was out hunting, the family would be able to have meat for their evening meal. The meat would be made into a stew that would be poured into a bowl of bread chunks.⁵² In spite of her lack of detail about how food was cooked, the attitude towards meat and the form in which it was consumed is telling. Societies whose economies are reliant upon their herds for their secondary products, such as wool and milk, are unlikely to butcher an animal just so they can have meat on their table, so to speak. Rather, meat was obtained through hunting wild game or killing a sick or injured animal in the herd, or butchering an animal when money was needed. Once it was killed, the entire animal was butchered and utilized – nothing went to waste. Most families would not be able to consume an entire animal before it started to spoil; consequently, other members of the village came to purchase a portion of meat, allowing the family to recoup some of their losses.

Once meat was obtained it was prepared as a stew and served over chunks of bread for the evening meal. Watson states that meat was served as a stew

because it is “the most economical meat dish.”⁵³ Economy is a logical reason why stews seem to have been the preferred means of preparing meat (if one was able to obtain it). Stews stretched a small amount of meat into a meal and were also better at utilizing as much of the carcass as possible. Stews were the most economical method of cooking meat if one could not afford to keep and cook the entire animal for themselves. On the off chance that the household could afford to keep the entire animal it is possible that it was roasted; however, roasting pits are not identified in archaeological reports.

If meat was eaten so rarely, what beside bread and stews (with meat) would the ancients have cooked? The availability of cereals in the ancient Near East not only would have provided grain for bread but also for porridges and gruel. In an article on West African Yoruba cooking, W. Bascom writes that there are two basic types of porridge/gruel: one that can be eaten any time of the day (gruel) and one that is served as a side dish with stews (porridge, similar to the Yale tablet recipe). Bascom also provides some of the Yoruba recipes: the first is for gruel and the second for porridge.

Cornstarch gruel: A small amount of cornstarch is stirred into boiling water with a wooden stirring stick (orogun, qmqrogun, oguro) to give a warm thin gruel which may be drunk from a glass or calabash, or eaten like soup with a spoon. This beverage is to the Yoruba what coffee is to Americans. It is the typical breakfast drink, and for many individuals it constitutes the only food taken in the morning. It can also be served at other meals with such dishes as yam fritters, mashed unskinned beans, red steamed beans, steamed melon- seeds and beans, and melon-seed fritters.⁵⁴

Yam porridge: Yam flour is added gradually to boiling water, while stirring with a wooden stirring stick so that it does not become lumpy, and cooked (se) until smooth. Rock salt (kaun) is added to make it thicken only if a poor quality of flour is used; if the flour is good, salt must not be added. The thickness of the porridge is varied to suit the individual's taste by the amount of flour that is added. It is served on a plate and may be eaten with one of the stews.⁵⁵

It would seem that there is a distinction between porridge and gruel: gruel is thinner and is eaten mostly in the morning but can be eaten any time, while porridge is thicker and is eaten mostly as a side dish at the evening meal. Neither corn nor yams were available to the Iron Age Judahite; rather, they made gruel and porridge out of spelt/emmer, barley, lentils, and chickpeas.⁵⁶

Ancient Near Eastern literature and representational art

The Assyrian “encyclopedia” that Bottero references not only mentions 300 kinds of bread but also 20 varieties of cheese and at least a hundred different soups or stews.⁵⁷ The preference for stews is evident in the Yale culinary

tablets,⁵⁸ where most of the recipes are stews made from various ingredients. For example, in the first tablet, 21 of 25 recipes were for stews whose broths were made of different meats, while only four of the broths were made from vegetables. One vegetable stew recipe may not use meat but does utilize blood: “Garden-variety turnips. Meat is not used. Prepare w[ater; add] f[at, ...], onion, arugula (?), coriander (?), *samidu* and turnips. At the end (?) add coriander (?) and cak[e cru]mbs (?) b[ou]nd with [b]lood, as well as mashed leek and garlic.”⁵⁹ The Hebrew Bible requires that the blood of animals be drained before preparation and consumption (Lev. 3:17; 7:26; 17:10–14; 19:26; Deut. 12:16, 23; 15:23), thus it would not have been included as a regular ingredient in Judahite cooking.⁶⁰

Not all vegetable broths remained meatless; rather, the broth for the stew was made from vegetables but often would have meat added to create a stew. Below is an example of one of the vegetable-based stews:

Broth with crumbs: Meat is used [there is a probably an error by the copier here, who writes “meat is not used”]. Prepare water; add fat, *suhutinnu*; coriander, salt to taste, leek and garlic. Crush and sift spiced grain cakes, sprinkle into the pot before removing it from the fire.⁶¹

Some meat recipes call for the meat to marinate in its own blood before cooking:

Venison broth. Other meat is not used. Prepare water; [add] fat, some crushed dodder (?), salt as desired, cak[e crumbs (?)...], onion, *samidu*, cumin (?), coriander (?), leek, garlic, and *zurumu*, as well as [...]. Soak the meat in the reserved blood, and a[ssemb]le all the ingredients in a pot for cooking.⁶²

Others specify that fresh meat is not to be used:

Red (broth). Fresh meat is not used, but rather “salted” entrails or stomach. Prepare water; add f[at,...], salt [as desired, cake crumbs (?)], onion, *samidu*, cumin (?), coriander (?), and [mashed] leek and garlic. Soak the meat in the reserved blood, and [assemble all the ingredients] in a pot for cooking.⁶³

There are also recipes that call for the meat to be seared in a different kind of cooking vessel, a *ruqqu* or a bronze “cauldron”:⁶⁴

Ifkippu are to be cooked in a broth, they are to be prepared like *agarukku* [doubtless other “birds” that we are equally unable to identify, but the recipe for which must have preceded this one on the tablet, or at any rate have been well known]. They are first split open, rinsed in cold water and placed in a cauldron [to braise or fry quickly to seal]. When

the cauldron is removed from the flame [after braising or sealing], a little cold water is added and a sprinkling of vinegar. Then mint and salt are pounded together and rubbed into the *kippu*, after which the liquid in the cauldron is strained [?] and mint is added to this sauce, in which the *kippu* are replaced [to cook for a moment, after they had been removed to be rubbed with the minted salt]. Lastly, a little cold water is again added and [to complete the cooking] everything is poured into a cooking pot. To be presented for carving.⁶⁵

The meal is mostly cooked in a bronze cauldron but towards the end it was poured into a cooking pot to finish cooking. The meal was served in the same cooking pot where it was carved in front of the guests. Obviously, the regularity of meat in a diet reflects the elite nature of the consumers; nevertheless, it can provide information on how stews of meat and vegetables were prepared.

All of the recipes in the Yale culinary tablets call for meat to be stewed, some braised beforehand; but what about the more simplified mode of cooking meat – roasting? Bottero notes that roasted meat only appears in his sources in “liturgical” contexts, not lay. Ritual tablets give the impression that the gods preferred roasted meat, but this form of cooking is not mentioned in any of the recipes for human consumption. Bottero attributes the absence of roasted meat in non-ritual settings to “the archaism of that method of cooking,” which was replaced by more technical means of cooking, at least by the elite. However, Bottero concedes that ordinary people probably roasted meat and did so by placing the meat on either a plate, rack, or screen made of either metal or ceramic, which could be placed on top of the upper opening of *tawabeen* or *tannaneer*.⁶⁶ Meat could also have been placed on skewers and either rested on top of the bread oven or inside it. It must be acknowledged that the portions of meat or the size of the animal needed to be small in order to fit inside or over the oven. If an entire animal was to be roasted, a likely guess is that it was roasted outside in a large pit, perhaps similar to the Samaritans at Passover or a Hawaiian pig roast. Curtis writes that in ancient Egypt, various animals such as cattle, hogs, wild game, and large birds could have been roasted on a spit and occasionally grilled, perhaps even fried; however, the most common method for cooking meat was boiling it. The tomb of Rameses III shows meat in a cauldron over an open fire while a relief of fish boiling in a cauldron over an open fire appears in the tomb of Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep. The tomb of Ken-amun also depicts meat being boiled in a cauldron, but the cauldron sits on an *arsah* oven.⁶⁷

Other types of food commonly prepared were porridges made of cereals. The Yale culinary tablets contain a recipe for porridge, although it is found in one of the most fragmentary tablets of the collection (tablet 26):

To prepare various porridges as accompaniments: Either [take ... and grind in a mortar, and si] ft [through a sieve, separating the larger and

smaller particles] (or) [...] with its ... and its ...] to grind the tasted cereal grains [...] completely (?) [...], g[rind] them in a mortar and sift [through a s]ieve, separa [ting] the larger and [smaller particles]; or rather coarsely ground *sasku* flour with its [...] and its [...], sift and [s] et asi[de]; or finally take either fine quality “green” wheat or shelled and ground lentils (?), and sift through a sieve, separating the larger and smaller particles. Then, from whichever one of these you have selected, make a porridge. Cook the porridge slowly on an *asallu* platter, with beer in which you have soaked pieces of “aromatic wood”, in order to add the porridge to the dish.⁶⁸

The above porridge recipe demonstrates that the porridge is cooked in a shallow platter slowly, which would indicate a place not in direct heat such as the top opening on the *tannur*. Further on, the recipe directs the chef to take the cooked birds out of the cauldron, which is the main dish, and put them on top of the porridge in the *asallu* platter and put it on the fire.⁶⁹ The porridge is an accompaniment, not the main meal. In elite contexts, porridge may not have been much more than a side dish; but to the average person, porridge was a mainstay – a meal in and of itself, perhaps breakfast.

Summary

Ancient Near East literature and representational art suggest that meat was eaten, but how often and by whom is debatable. When meat was eaten, it was more than likely prepared as a stew, as is evident from the numerous Yale culinary recipes for meat stews and the paintings from several Egyptian tombs. Porridges, while not glamorous enough to be depicted in any art form, were prepared by both the elite and commoners. However, as the Yale culinary tablets indicate, porridge was served as an accompaniment to a meat meal in elite contexts. In the daily life of the average person, however, porridge would have been the main meal. The ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, and experimental archaeology support this hypothesis – that porridge or gruel was eaten regularly and meat was seldom eaten but was prepared as a stew when it was consumed.

Conclusion

Secondary resources such as ethnography, ethnoarchaeology, experimental archaeology, and ancient Near Eastern literature and representational art are required resources for illuminating archaeological data. Regarding baking, the present-day ethnographic/archaeological studies and ancient Near Eastern literature and art illustrate that a variety of breads were baked in several types of ovens, the most common of which were the *tabun* and *tannur*. Based on analogous ethnographic studies, it can be deduced that their ancient counterparts, including ancient Judahites, would have baked an assortment of

bread daily inside a *tabun*- or *tannur*-like oven. As E. van der Steen has already noted, most excavations find ovens that are more *tannur*-like but which tend to be classified as *tawabeen* in preliminary and final reports.⁷⁰ However, there is one major difference between ancient and modern *tawabeen* and *tannaneer*: thus far, only a few bread ovens with a second opening at the bottom have been documented from any excavation in the southern Levant (see note 48). The majority have solid foundations with closed rings of clay forming the base; yet all of the present-day *tawabeen* and *tannaneer* have this second opening. What are the reasons for this? As was mentioned earlier, very few complete bread ovens have been excavated, so perhaps the ancient bread ovens did have a second opening and it has not survived. On the other hand, perhaps there was no second opening in the bread ovens of antiquity and the opening has only “recently” evolved. Unfortunately, no ethnoarchaeological or experimental archaeological studies have been done on *tawabeen*/*tannaneer* without a flue opening.

Bread was consumed daily in antiquity, but the consumption of meat was a rare occurrence for the average family. Special occasions necessitating a feast (such as honored guests, marriages, and covenants), the sickness or death of one of the household animals, or the successful hunting of wild game were legitimate grounds for the preparation and consumption of meat, more often as a stew. While the Yale culinary tablets are excellent examples of the range of stews prepared in antiquity, the implied frequency with which meat was consumed is likely to be an inaccurate representation for those in non-elite contexts. The elite (think palaces and temples) had more access to meat than those in common contexts (think of dwellings). This is not to say that the average man and woman would not have prepared their stews in a similar manner as the elite, just not nearly as often – unless my hypothesis concerning the gastronomical difference between urban and rural settlements in Iron II Judah has no validity. If the inhabitants of urban environments used the larger, traditional cooking pots that would have been ideal for cooking larger food items, such as meat, then perhaps the Yale culinary tablets would reflect their gastronomical reality more so than those in rural environments. Unfortunately, there are no ethnographical, ethnoarchaeological, or experimental archaeological studies on the size of pot used, what was cooked in it, and in what environment it was found.

The information on porridge is interesting in that it was not only served as a meal but also as a side dish. Both the elite context of the Yale culinary tablets and the common context of the Yoruba in Africa demonstrate that porridge/gruel was a frequently consumed foodstuff in both spheres of society. The distinction between porridge and gruel to the Yoruba is also remarkable because it may provide a clue as to which one was served in what context. The Yale culinary tablets show porridge often was mixed with vegetables to make a side dish, as the Yoruba do; yet the Yoruba used gruel as a main meal. Perhaps gruel was the plain everyday dish served in common contexts, while

porridge was the elaborate side dish served in elite contexts. Whatever the difference may be, the hybrid cooking pots and the Philistine cooking jugs discussed in the [previous chapter](#) would have been ideal vessels to use and would have prepared it either over the top opening of the *tabun/tannur*, inside the oven, or on the rocks of a hearth.

The secondary resources used have not only provided a valuable visual aid but have also helped illuminate the archaeological data of this study. The final step in this research is to apply both the archaeological and secondary resource data to the passages in the Hebrew Bible that illustrate food being prepared in domestic contexts.

Chapter 5

HOME COOKING IN THE HEBREW BIBLE

Introduction

Historians and archaeologists in numerous research areas have long been studying food in its various spheres (temple, palace, dwelling).¹ But when it comes to the Bible in general, and the Hebrew Bible in particular, research into food and the domestic sphere lags behind, with the exception of research into the kosher dietary laws and the sacrificial system, whose scholarship and literature is prolific and too extensive to list here in its entirety.² More recently, a few scholars in both biblical studies and Syro-Palestinian archaeology have delved into either the realm of food or households. Borowski has focused on the husbandry and agriculture of ancient Israel, both textually and archaeologically; C. Meyers has extensively researched the domestic life of women in ancient Israel; and N. MacDonald has recently published two monographs on the ancient Israelite diet. Avraham Faust is one of the few Syro-Palestinian archaeologists who has published on rural settlements in ancient Israel, and J. Hardin's work on household archaeology in the southern Levant has inspired more research in this field.³

Research on food and households is a subject area that one would think would be a natural combination and have numerous publications, but until recently this has not been the case. The greater purpose of this study is to research food preparation in both urban and rural domestic contexts both archaeologically and within the greater ancient Near Eastern world and apply this information to the Hebrew Bible with the hope of illuminating the domestic gastronomical daily life of the average ancient Judahite. The present chapter takes the archaeological and secondary resources previously researched and applies it to four passages within the Hebrew Bible that mention the preparation of food in domestic contexts, albeit secondarily. The

passages under consideration are: Gen. 18:1–8; Gen. 25:29–34; Judg. 6:19–21; and 2 Sam. 13:5–10. The archaeological and secondary resources previously researched will be applied to each passage by asking the following questions: Who prepared the food? For whom was the food prepared? When and where was the food prepared? What food was prepared and how? Why was the food prepared?

Passage 1: Genesis 18:1–8

Context of the passage

The passage under discussion (Gen. 18:1–8) is familiar to most biblical readers. It comes just after Abraham makes a covenant with God that results in the males of his household being circumcised (17:1–14) and the designation of Sarah as the matriarch from whom the blessing of descendants will emerge, not Hagar and her son, Ishmael (17:15–22). Sometime after the circumcision of all the household men, Abraham is resting in the shade of the tent during the afternoon heat when he sees three men. As was required by ancient Near Eastern hospitality norms, Abraham runs to greet them, persuading them to stop, rest, wash their feet, and eat a little food. Upon their agreement, Abraham rushes to prepare a feast for the guests and watches over them as they eat. When the meal is finished, the conversation begins with one of the messengers informing Abraham that his wife, Sarah, will have a son by that same time the following year. Sarah was eavesdropping on the messengers and laughed at their prophecy, about which one of the messengers confronts her and she denies having laughed. The messengers and Abraham then leave and walk towards where they can view the settlement of Sodom. There Yahweh informs Abraham that the reputation of sin in Sodom and Gomorrah is great and that Yahweh is going to go check things out. Abraham then pleads for the people of Sodom and Gomorrah resulting in Yahweh agreeing that if ten righteous men were found Sodom would not be destroyed. The other two messengers continue on to Sodom and encounter Abraham's nephew, Lot (ch. 19).

The birth announcement narrative of Gen. 18:1–16, like most narratives in Genesis, has been studied extensively, as has the tradition of hospitality found within the narrative. However, questions regarding the preparation of food in Gen. 18:1–8 from archaeological, ethnoarchaeological, and ancient Near Eastern literary perspectives are uncommon. Questions regarding the preparation of food in this passage will be addressed, with the hope that the archaeological and secondary resources previously researched will help illuminate the gastronomical daily life presented within the Hebrew Bible.

Who prepared the food?

It is clear that, even though Abraham is the main character of this narrative, he

did not prepare the food. When the messengers agreed to stay and let Abraham bring them water and bread, Abraham rushed to Sarah, who was in the tent (v. 6), and told her to take the best flour, knead it and make bread-cakes; then Abraham rushed to the cattle and took a tender and good calf and gave it to the servant boy to prepare (v. 7). Once the food was prepared, Abraham took it with butter and milk to the guests (v. 8). Obviously, Sarah and the servant boy prepared the food, but no indication is given as to what Abraham was doing while they prepared the food; the only information provided is that along with the food prepared by Sarah and the servant boy, Abraham included butter and milk. Considering the rush he was in, it can be assumed that he was busy doing something.

The term **נֶעֱר** means youth or boy and could be translated as a servant boy. Nothing is known about the servant, **נֶעֱר**, who prepared the food, with the exception that it could have been a young male servant in the household of Abraham and, if so, he was probably circumcised (17:9–15). However, much is known about Sarah, the preparer of the breadcakes: Sarah, originally Sarai (17:5), was half-sister (20:12) and wife of Abraham and left Ur of the Chaldeans for Canaan with the household of Terah, Abraham's father (11:31). Abraham became a wealthy man, and by extension so did Sarah (12:5). Sarah was so beautiful pharaohs and kings desired her (12:11, 15; 20:2). Due to her infertility, Sarah gave Abraham her concubine, Hagar, so that she might conceive a child in her stead (16:2); but once she did, Sarah became jealous of Hagar (16:6) and had Abraham throw her out (21:10). Regardless of her infertility, Sarah was to be part of the covenant between God and Abraham by giving birth to a son (17:16, 21). Sarah was an eavesdropper and lied when frightened (18:12, 15). In her old age, Sarah became the mother of Isaac (21:2–3). When she died, Abraham buried her near Mamre (23:19); both Abraham (23:2) and Isaac (24:67) mourned the death of Sarah.

In a rush to have the meal prepared Abraham knew that it would take some time. On the one hand, it is not surprising that Abraham had Sarah and the servant boy help; in the Hebrew Bible women are often shown as the main preparers of food (Lev. 26:26; 1 Sam. 8:13; Eccl. 12:3; Jer. 7:18), while the butchering of meat was done by the men (Gen. 43:16; Exod. 12:21; 1 Sam. 9:23–4; 14:32, 34; 25:11). On the other hand, the fact that only Sarah and the servant boy are seen preparing the food raises the question of what Abraham was doing while the others prepared the food. Perhaps he went back to entertain his guests while the food was being prepared. However, in light of the ancient Near Eastern practice of taking care of business or transactions after the meal is over, Abraham, as a practitioner of cultural norms, was probably not chatting with his guests unless he was engaging in preliminary small talk.⁴ Gerhard Von Rad suggests that after Abraham picked out the calf, he “then prepared drinks and trimmings for the meal” (i.e. butter and milk).⁵ This is possible, but not likely since butter and milk were usually already prepared and only needed to be gathered together; this will be addressed more

fully below.⁶

For whom was the food prepared?

The narrative opens with the appearance of Yahweh to Abraham while he was sitting in the opening of his tent near the terebinth of Mamre (v. 1). Then in v. 2 Abraham is still in the opening of his tent when there is a sudden

appearance of שְׁלֹשָׁה אַנְשִׁים or “three men” (v. 2). The repetition of the appearance of someone to Abraham while he sits in the opening of his tent leads one to question which verse is the opening statement proper and thus who are the visitors for whom the food was prepared. Commentators note that v. 1a, “And Yahweh appeared to him by the terebinth of Mamre,” does not belong to the original narrative and is an editorial superscription. Hermann Gunkel continues by noting that the narrative begins with v. 1b and is carefully crafted in order to introduce “how the deity and the hero met at a certain place given in the tradition.”⁷ However, this does not stop scholars from speculating as to who the men were. Von Rad recognizes the inconsistency of the introduction but argues that Yahweh appeared in or as all three of the men,⁸ while G. Wenham states that, even though Abraham thought they were mere men, it is clear later on that two of the men were angels and the third was the Lord.⁹ Gunkel is quick to refute these claims.

Assuredly, the legend did not intimate that Yahweh was equally present in all three. According to ancient belief, Yahweh was conceived realistically as an extremely individual personality so that it would have been entirely impossible to divide him into three figures. Instead one may only ask whether Yahweh was one of them and the other two were angels or whether all three were Yahweh’s messengers. The latter option is indicated with great certainty by the fact that legend speaks not of a master and two servants but of “three men” and the fact that in its original form, as we may hypothesize it, it treated these three as equals.¹⁰

Gunkel’s assessment of the messengers is that “ancient elements” embedded in the text (the personification of the deity, the eating of food, the resting, and the lack of wine) suggest that the narrative “originated from a pre-Yahwistic period in which these three men were not originally messengers of Yahweh, but three gods. Israel would then have later applied this legend, like others, to Yahweh.” Claus Westermann counters by stating that two narratives have been combined, one narrative with three messengers, the other narrative with only one messenger.¹¹ Both arguments shed light on why an editorial superscript was deemed necessary by later redactors.¹² Consequently, it cannot be determined categorically for whom the food was being prepared without discussing why the food was being prepared – this will be addressed later on.

Where and when was the food prepared?

Abraham had pitched his tent near the terebinth of Mamre (v. 1). Ramet el-

Khalil, about two miles north of Hebron, has been identified as ancient Mamre. In 1926–27 a cultic area was found and excavated by P. Mader. The cultic area had successive shrine remains from the Bronze Age to Constantine’s Roman Empire; written accounts of festivals held there were found from the fifth century CE.¹³ In Gen. 14:13 Mamre is described as “the oaks of Mamre the Amorite, brother of Eshcol and of Aner” (NRSV). Accordingly, the location was named after the man who owned the field and its trees. Abraham is credited with setting up the shrine at Mamre (Gen. 13:18). However, it would be unlikely that Abraham would set up a shrine as a guest in another man’s field; perhaps the attribution of the shrine to Abraham is a later editorial addition.¹⁴ Later, Abraham bought the cave of Machpelah in the field of Ephron that faced Mamre and it served as the family burial plot (Gen. 23:17–19; 25:9–10).

Abraham and his household lived in tents (Gen. 18:1–2, 6) and today would be considered pastoral nomads. Pastoral nomads are dependent upon their herds and move their tents and herds according to the seasons. In spite of their migratory lifestyle, pastoral nomads often return to the same location each season. Even today, Bedouin (who are pastoral nomads) return to certain locations each season for subsistence reasons: water source, fields for the animals, defensibility, warmth in the winter, and cool and shade in the summer. The terebinth trees at Mamre would have provided enough shade for the household during the warm months. Perhaps Mamre is being viewed as the location to which Abraham and his household would return repeatedly, which was “like home” to them.¹⁵

The time of day is given in the setting of the narrative: **בְּחֹם הַיּוֹם** or “in the heat of the day” (v. 1b). Abraham is sitting in the entrance of his tent during the midday heat when Yahweh/the mysterious messengers appear. Afternoon “siestas” are still common in parts of the world where it is too hot to work during the summer months. Abraham and his household would have attempted to complete the household activities in the cooler morning hours or continue them in the cooler twilight hours, allowing them to rest in the shade during the hottest part of the day. The tents of pastoral nomads were made of sheets of goat hides that could be drawn up or down. The flaps of the tent would be drawn down at night to retain heat, while during the day in warmer months the flaps would be drawn up to allow the breeze to pass through and provide a shady, breezy spot to rest.¹⁶ Likewise, travelers would stop to rest in the shade during the heat of the day. Thus, the narrative is set during the midday heat during the hot summer months of the southern Levant. With this in mind, one can imagine why Abraham was startled to see three men standing nearby – he was finished with his household chores and was taking his afternoon rest. Regardless of the time of day and however untimely, rules of hospitality still applied.

What food was prepared and how?

The difference between this narrative and two of the others still to be addressed (the Gideon and Tamar narratives) is that Abraham and his household dwelled in tents, not Iron Age houses. This fact could be an issue when addressing the question of *how the food was prepared*. Iron Age houses had permanent cooking installations that could have affected how the food was prepared in contrast to mobile people groups, such as pastoral nomads like Abraham. Mobile people groups must equate to mobile food-preparation techniques. For instance, present-day nomads and Bedouin often use a *saj*, a rounded metal disk, to bake bread as opposed to permanent cooking and baking installations that are found within Middle Eastern villages.¹⁷ But does this mean that nomads could not use a cooking installation if they wanted to? Do cooking installations have to be permanent? If pastoral nomads returned to the same location year after year, could they not make a cooking installation and leave it there?

Mulder-Heymans's experimental archaeological research on cooking ovens in the Middle East may be helpful here. It took local Druze villagers only one hour to collect local clay and three hours to make their *tabun*. When completed, the *tabun* was only "18 inches (45 cm) high, 18 inches (45 cm) across, and 24 inches (60 cm) long" and was mobile because it was built on a board.¹⁸ Small *tawabeen/tannaneer* did not take long to make and, if regularly used, were good for a few years, depending on the quality of the oven.¹⁹ Therefore, it is possible for nomads to build and cook on semi-permanent cooking installations as well as utilizing mobile methods of cooking. Consequently, the answer to the question "how was the food prepared" will be looked at from the perspective of both mobile and permanent cooking installations.

The first dish Abraham sets out to have prepared is the bread. Bread was a mainstay of the ancient and modern diet in the southern Levant. Abraham commands Sarah to make עֲגֻלֹת, which can be translated as disc(s) or cake(s) of bread, bread-cake or an ash-cake (round); cake (upon the hearth); from the root עָגַג, meaning to bake. The verb is used as a denominative – "to bake round cakes on the hearth."²⁰ Abraham is specific about how much and what kind of flour is to be used to make the bread:

מִתָּרִי שְׁלֹשׁ סָאִים קֶמַח סֵלֶת לֹשִׁי וְעֹשִׂי עֲגֻלֹת, "quick, three seahs of the best flour, knead it and make cakes of bread." Abraham dictated the "best flour" to be used to bake the bread, a point G. Wenham is quick to note: "The best wheat flour is only used in cereal offerings and for making bread of the presence (Lev. 24:5) and the regulations about the sacrifice constantly insist on the necessity of offering only top-quality animals." Wenham continues to argue that the narrative is suggesting that Abraham was "behaving more wisely than he realized."²¹ However, what Wenham fails to acknowledge is the possibility that the later priestly redactors wanted to justify, albeit subliminally, some of the sacrificial regulations by attributing the preparation, in part, to the noble patriarch.

Three *seahs* or measures of the best flour the household had would have made a great deal of bread since one *seah* is about two gallons (or eight liters).²² If the household was in such a hurry, the bread-cakes could have been unleavened, unless Sarah had a fermented starter on hand that she could have added to the mix. If so, she could have had two bread-cakes rising in such heat within an hour. If Sarah had access to a permanent cooking installation, like a *tabun/tannur*, then the bread would have been slapped to the inside walls of the oven to bake. However, if the second definition of שנות is taken into consideration, it is probable that Sarah baked the bread-cakes on the stones of a hearth instead of in an oven. As was shown in the secondary resources chapter, large stones were placed in a fire and, once hot, the dough would be placed on top of it to cook, much like a *saj*.

The hospitality meal Abraham ordered to be prepared was not standard. Most would have butchered a goat or sheep, which would have been more than generous. On the contrary, Abraham took one of the most prized animals from the household herd – a calf (בן בקר) – which was considered a culinary delicacy and was only prepared for special meals. Initially, cattle were domesticated for their milk, meat, hide, bone, and dung and were more valuable than goats and sheep. During the Iron Age, they were raised primarily for use in the fields and secondarily for their by-products.²³ However, according to O. Borowski, “Cows were not given to wandering like sheep and goats, thus their presence in the zooarchaeological record usually indicates a more settled environment, namely that of a village or town.”²⁴ Today, some semi-nomadic Bedouins own a few head of cattle.²⁵ Therefore, reference to a calf suggests several things: it was a sign of Abraham’s wealth; Abraham and his household led a more sedentary existence than previously thought; or the author/editors included the calf in the story to stress his wealth derived from his covenant relationship with Yahweh and to stress the divinity of his visitors.

Regardless of the reason, the calf could have been roasted over an open fire, but it is uncertain how common this practice was in ancient Israel/Judah since roasting pits are not identified archaeologically and are only mentioned twice in the Hebrew Bible, in cultic contexts (Exod. 12:8–9).²⁶ If the calf were butchered into small pieces, like a goat, it could be boiled in a large- to medium-size cooking pot. Archaeologically speaking, it is difficult to determine what type of pot the calf was boiled in because of the dating issue of both the narrative and the time it purports to reflect. If the narrative is meant to take place before the Iron II period, the calf could have been prepared in the large “Canaanite” traditional-style pot; if it reflects Iron II or post-Iron II practices, it could have been prepared in either a large traditional-style pot or a large-size hybrid pot. If Sarah had access to some sort of household *tannur/tabun*, it is possible the meat was boiled in a pot over the top opening of the oven. If the bread-cakes were baked on the stones of a hearth, however, as their description as שנות indicates, then the calf could

have been boiled in a pot on the same hearth, or on a secondary one. The text (vv. 6–7) indicates that Sarah prepared the bread-cakes and the servant boy

prepared the calf. The word used here, **לעשות**, is from the root **עשה** and means, in regards to food, “to prepare especially of dressing and cooking food.”²⁷ This could indicate that the servant boy butchered and cooked the calf either on a separate or same hearth as Sarah, or perhaps the servant boy only dressed or butchered the meat and brought it to Sarah who cooked both the bread and the meat on the same hearth.

As Sarah and the servant boy were preparing the bread and calf, Abraham hurriedly gathered or prepared the milk and butter. Other than water, milk was used to quench thirst. Sheep and goats produce milk from the time they give birth in the winter and well on into the summer. The milking of sheep and goats begins after the weaning period in the spring and becomes a household activity that must be done twice a day, once in the morning and once in the evening – before and after their grazing period.²⁸ The setting of Abraham’s encounter with the messengers informs us that it was the afternoon of a hot month (probably summer), which suggests that his sheep and goats would have been producing milk and were probably milked that morning. Thus, when Abraham rushed to get the rest of the meal prepared for the guests, it is possible the milk was already “prepared” so to speak and only needed to be fetched. However, the practice of boiling milk before serving to a guest is described in the Egyptian story of Sinuhe (ca. twentieth-nineteenth century BCE): “The sheikh ... gave me water while he boiled milk for me.”²⁹ Boiling milk would do away with any harmful bacteria and make it easier to digest, although the possibility that milk from the morning was kept without going rancid with such afternoon heat is unlikely. It is possible that fresh milk had to be obtained from the herd.

The side dish that Abraham prepared was **חֶמְאָה**, which can be translated “curd, curdled milk, modern *leben*” or “curdled milk, cheese, or butter.”³⁰ Borowski defines biblical *chem’ah* as “curds or butter,” the equivalent to Arabic *zibdeh*. Today, some of the dairy products in the Bible are being prepared by the same methods as their ancient counterparts. Borowski recounts how *zibdeh* is made:

Fresh butter is made by processing the *lebben* [soured milk that is drunk like a yoghurt]. Churning starts in the morning, when the air is still cool. The skin [of a goat] is blown up with air, hung from a tripod or branch, and swung back and forth for about one and a half hours. This separates the fat particles, and the upper layer becomes butter that can be used in cooking or for spreading on bread.³¹

The butter was also more than likely already prepared or in the process of churning since it was a morning household activity and our narrative occurred in the afternoon. Abraham’s frenzied actions would have consisted of getting

the milk either from the earlier milking or from the animal itself, boiling it, either finishing churning the butter or gathering some prepared that morning, and placing enough for three men in serving vessels. The narrative clearly impresses upon the reader the rush Abraham and the household were in because the preparation of such a lavish meal (the calf in particular) would have taken a great deal of time – especially during the afternoon heat of a summer day, when most would normally be resting.

Why was the food prepared?

There are two reasons why the food was prepared. The first was because the cultural norms of hospitality required households to offer guests rest, a meal, and a chance to wash their feet (vv. 4–5). A guest could stay up to three days. Geographically speaking, the protection from the host extended to a certain radius around the dwelling, even after the guest had left.³² Generosity to strangers was designed to intercept a potential threat on behalf of the household, settlement, clan, or tribe and convert them into allies, albeit sometimes only briefly.³³

The second reason is related to the first: Abraham's act of hospitality is a test from the divine. At first Abraham offers the guests a simple meal of food, probably bread, and water, but returns with a lavish meal fit for only the most honored of guests. Wenham points out that the choice flour and the tender and good calf Abraham brought his guests reflect the priestly regulations for the quality of raw materials used for cereal offerings, the bread of the presence, and the animal sacrifices.³⁴ It is difficult to know if the use of top-quality foodstuffs reflects an ancient Near Eastern notion of the need to present the finest meal/offering to honored guests or the divine. What is recognized is that Abraham's generosity is rewarded with the gift of the promise of a son.³⁵ Abraham's reward informs the reader how a couple well past childbearing years was able to conceive a child and why they named him Isaac.

Summary

Abraham had Sarah prepare bread-cakes from three *seahs* of choice flour, baked either on the walls of a portable *tabun/tannur* or on the hot stones of a hearth, while the servant boy prepared a tender and good calf. Verse 8 states that the servant boy "prepared" the calf but what is not clear is if the preparation included cooking the meat and how; was it roasted or was it butchered into smaller pieces and boiled over the opening of a portable *tannur/tabun* or on an open hearth? Abraham readied the milk and butter and presented the meal to the three men under the shade of the terebinth.

Passage 2: Genesis 25:29–34

Context of the passage

The rivalry between the brothers Jacob and Esau is reminiscent of a rivalry found on a televised soap opera. Jacob and Esau were the twin sons born to Isaac and Rebekah, and the grandsons of Abraham and Sarah. Rebekah was barren, so Isaac prayed to the Lord and she conceived. Rebekah had a difficult pregnancy and upon her inquiry to the Lord was told that two nations struggled inside her womb. During labor, the first son to be born was red and hairy, so they named him Esau; the second son arrived while grabbing the heel of his brother, so they named him Jacob (Gen. 25).³⁶ As the boys grew, Esau became a skillful hunter and a man of the outdoors, while Jacob was a quiet man who spent his time indoors, which may have something to do with the favoritism that developed. Isaac loved game and thus favored Esau, while Rebekah, as a woman who did most of her daily activities in or near the dwelling, favored Jacob (25:27–8). So was Jacob a “mamma’s boy” and Esau a “man’s man”? One can only speculate, of course.

After the selling of the birthright, further events did not help the brotherly relationship (27:1–28:9). Isaac was near death and wanted to bless his eldest son, Esau, even though Esau had sold his birthright as the eldest son to Jacob – perhaps Isaac did not know about this event and Rebekah did because upon overhearing that Isaac planned on blessing Esau and not Jacob, she devised a plan. While Esau was out hunting for his father, Rebekah would prepare the same meal Isaac asked Esau to make as Jacob covered himself with goat skins and wore his brother’s clothing. The object was to deceive a blind Isaac into thinking Jacob was Esau, thus receiving his father’s blessing. The scheme worked and both Isaac and Esau were furious when the deception was revealed. Esau was so furious that he planned to kill Jacob upon their father’s death. Once more, mommy came to Jacob’s rescue and again by deception: Rebekah found out that Esau wanted to kill Jacob so she asked Isaac to send Jacob away, without telling Isaac about Esau’s plans. Rather, she made up an excuse – that she wanted Jacob to find a wife from her brother’s house in Paddan-aram and not from the local Canaanite population. Isaac agreed and sent Jacob on his way. Meanwhile, Esau heard it would displease his father if his son married a Canaanite, so Esau married one just to spite his parents. It was not until some 20 years later that the brothers reunited and all was forgiven (33:4–16).

The dynamics between Jacob and Esau and their familial drama has been extensively addressed, with the exception of their daily life. Like the preceding passage, archaeological and secondary resources previously researched will be applied to help illuminate the gastronomical daily life presented within the Jacob and Esau “birthright stew” narrative.

Who prepared the food?

יעקב, Jacob, is the cook in the Genesis 25 narrative and, as was already mentioned, was the son of Isaac and Rebekah, grandson of Abraham and Sarah, and the twin brother of Esau. To highlight the differences between the

two brothers, the narrator describes Jacob as a quiet man who stayed within the camp (perhaps this indicates that he was a herdsman like his ancestors), while Esau preferred the outdoors and hunting. The name Jacob may be a shortened version of the **עֵקֶב אֵל** or “may El protect, reward,” which was a common Amorite name in the early second millennium.³⁷ The word plays on the name Jacob in the narrative are telling: **עֵקֶב** means, “he supplants” and is symbolic of the way in which Jacob was born – clutching his brother’s heel or **עֵקֶב**. In its various forms, **עֵקֶב** has the connotation of “assail insidiously, circumvent, over reach” (verbal denominative-figurative) and “insidious, deceitful” (adj.).³⁸

First, the struggle between the brothers that Rebekah felt in her womb will carry on outside the womb and foreshadows elements of Jacob’s life – he will struggle with others. He struggled with his brother inside the womb (Gen. 25:22); he struggled with his brother outside the womb, especially for the birthright (Gen. 25:29–34); he struggled for a blessing from his father (Gen. 27:18–23); he struggled with Laban for Rachel, his wages, and the right to leave (29:21–8; 30:25–43; 31:5–55); and he struggled with an angel/the divine (32:24–30). Second, his name reveals Jacob’s personality – a matter that G. Von Rad comments on:

one must bear in mind that the ancients did not consider a name as simply sound and smoke. On the contrary, for them the name was closely linked with its bearer in such a way that the name contained something of the character of the one who bore it. Thus, in giving his name [to the angel or the divine in Gen. 32:27], Jacob at the same time had to reveal his whole nature. The name Jacob (at least for the narrative) actually designates its bearer as a cheat.³⁹

Jacob was a trickster, shrewd and deceitful, especially when in a struggle. He even deceived his own family: Esau, Isaac, and Laban. Although, part of the craft of the Jacob narratives is to show the trickster being tricked: first, by his father-in-law, Laban, the ramifications of which he had to deal with for the rest of his life (Gen. 29:21–30); second, by Jacob’s own sons who sold his beloved son, Joseph, to traders and then lied to Jacob about his death (Gen. 37:1–35). A second motif common in the Hebrew Bible, the favor of the younger son over the eldest, is also part of the character of Jacob.⁴⁰ Jacob gets the birthright and blessing, although deceitfully, but he also receives the favor of Yahweh and renewal of the Abrahamic covenant (Gen. 35:9–15) over his slightly older twin brother, Esau.

It is noteworthy that Jacob was the one cooking. Unlike the Gideon and Abraham narratives, Jacob’s cooking is not an act of hospitality for a visitor; it is not clear if he is cooking for himself or for his father’s household. It is generally assumed that the preparation of food was “woman’s work” and that men were more concerned with public roles that took place in public spheres

such as the military, palace, temple, and city-gates. While this is probably true to a certain extent, it is the luxury of the present-day scholar and reader to assume that men had nothing to do with household chores. As was shown earlier, most average Judahites and Israelites lived in rural environments, not urban ones where the more public roles of military, palace, temple, and city-gate were to be found. Rural environments would not have had the luxury of dividing chores into sex roles because the basic goal of daily life was to survive. That would mean that every physically able member of the household would have had to participate regardless of sex, age, and role (patriarch, matriarch, son, daughter, slave, guest, etc.) within the household. The only exception to this would be due to biological factors, such as physical strength, menstruation, birth, and breastfeeding.⁴¹ Furthermore, it should not be surprising that Jacob was preparing food since he was described as a bit of a homebody.

For whom was the food prepared?

The narrative informs the reader that Jacob was the one cooking, but not for whom he was cooking. On the one hand, it can be assumed that Jacob was preparing a meal for himself since no other intended recipients are named. On the other hand, why would Jacob have been cooking for himself and not for the entire household? Rarely would the household food supply have been used to prepare a meal for just one person – this is bad household economics in a society where daily subsistence was of concern. If this were the case, why did Jacob not inform Esau of this? Was Jacob that selfishly motivated? Surely, Esau would have presumed Jacob was preparing a meal for the family and not just for himself. Was Esau away hunting so much that he did not know how the daily household activities took place? Or was he just that hungry that he did not care? Did Esau not have the strength to help himself? Was he implying his superiority over his brother by asking him to serve him, as though he were older and deserving of respect and service?

Unfortunately, there are no answers to these questions. The only information the narrative provides is that Jacob did the cooking, but Esau did the eating. Esau was the son of Isaac and Rebekah, the grandson of Abraham and Sarah, and Jacob's twin brother. Esau was the first of the twins to be born and thus was considered the firstborn son, a prized position within ancient

Near Eastern families. The etymology of the name עֵשָׂו, Esau, is unclear and it is not found elsewhere in the ancient Near East: although the Hebrew Bible does not offer a definition for the name, it associates “Esau” with redness and hairiness. Similar to Jacob, the word plays on Esau's name, nickname, and

description are revealing: Esau is described as אֶדְמוֹנִי in Genesis 25:25, which is translated “ruddy” or “reddish.” It is uncertain what the “reddish”

adjective describes, Esau's hair or skin color; either way, אֶדְמוֹנִי is a wordplay on Esau's nickname, אֶדָם, Edom, and is derived from when Esau

asked Jacob for some of his stew and he said, **הָאֵדָם הָאֵדָם**, or “the red stew, this red stew” (Gen. 25:30). Apparently the repetitive description of the “red” stew and Esau’s “reddish” appearance stuck. Furthermore, Esau’s nickname Edom is the name of the territory that he and his descendants apparently settled, east of the Arabah (the Jordan Rift).⁴² This same territory had an alternative name, Seir, which has the same root consonants, **שֵׁעַר**, as the second adjective to describe Esau when he was born, **שֵׁעַר**, or “hairy.” To some scholars, the description of Esau as a red, hairy man is more than just a wordplay on his name; it reveals a bias against him and his descendants: hairiness is symbolic of incivility, while red-headed people were treated with suspicion and prejudice in the world of the ancient Near East. Wenham observes the similarities between Esau and Enkidu, the hairy man in the Epic of Gilgamesh who is depicted as a wild, uncivilized man.⁴³

When and where was the food prepared?

When and where Jacob prepared the food is not stated in the narrative, but possibilities can be gleaned from other information. Immediately before the narrative under investigation, Gen. 25:11 recounts how Isaac settled in Beer-lahai-roi (or “well of living ones who see me”) after the death of his father. Earlier, Beer-lahai-roi is mentioned as lying between Kadesh (Kadesh-barnea) and Bered in the Wilderness of Zin (Gen. 16:14). According to the text, Isaac did not move his household to Gerar of the Philistines until after the birthright incident between Jacob and Esau, when a famine hit the land (Gen. 26:1, 6). It is possible that Isaac and his household, including his two unmarried sons, were still settled in the area of Beer-lahai-roi in the wilderness of Zin when the birthright incident occurred.⁴⁴ However, the lapse of time between when Isaac settled in Beer-lahai-roi and the birthright incident between Jacob and Esau is not known; all that is said is that the boys grew up (Gen. 25:27). It is possible that the area of Beer-lahai-roi was one of the places to which Isaac’s household returned year after year, regardless of how old his sons were. However, J. Walton et al. argue that, as a man who stays among the tents, Jacob was a shepherd and was more than likely out pasturing his flocks when Esau stumbled into his camp. To substantiate this claim they note that if the incident had occurred at home, Esau would have appealed to his parents, not his brother. In addition, Jacob would have been in charge of the shepherd camp so any decisions, including whom to feed and whom not to feed, were his alone and he would have had witnesses to Esau’s oath.⁴⁵ This is an interesting theory that explains why Jacob was cooking but does not give a specific location as to where the birthright-stew incident occurred.

Like Abraham, Isaac and his household were pastoral nomads and lived in tents made of goatskins. Jacob’s birthright stew could have been prepared within or immediately in the vicinity of the household tent(s) and this is supported by the fact that Jacob stayed close to the household tents (Gen. 25:27). Isaac had previously settled in Beer-lahai-roi and was returning from

there when he was presented with his wife, Rebekah (Gen. 24:62). As was mentioned earlier, pastoral nomads migrate with the seasons and return to the same place year after year. It is possible that since Kadesh-barnea and thus Beer-lahai-roi were in the southern wilderness (more like a desert) of Zin, Isaac and his household spent the cold months in the southern desert – like many pastoral nomads would. If this theory has any merit, it can be inferred that the narrative was set in the colder months of winter.

The type of food prepared is of no help to determine when it was prepared. Lentils are sown in December and are harvested in late April and early May.⁴⁶ Lentils can be stored for future use and would make an excellent source of protein any time of year. If it were the current year's crop, it would be late April-May, as the temperature is mounting and game might be beginning to migrate as well as water becoming scarcer and vegetation disappearing. Alternatively, although the period of abundance is beginning to fall off, successful hunting might still be possible. Animals are usually on the move in the early morning or dusk; consequently, hunting for game would have occurred during these times and this does not narrow down when the meal could have been prepared. The term used, נִיד, means “to boil or stew” and does not indicate whether it was a morning or evening meal. However, given that in the ancient and modern Near East hot meals other than porridge or gruel are usually reserved for the evening, it could be assumed that Jacob was preparing the evening meal either for the household or the shepherds out pasturing the flocks.

The nomadic lifestyle was/is one of seasonal migration and tent dwelling; the preparation of food would be mobile, too. But, as was already mentioned, nomads often return to the same location each season and this could result in some semi-permanent food installations. This issue will be addressed further below.

What food was prepared and how?

The food prepared by Jacob is referred to differently by Esau and the narrator. To set the scene, the narrator informs the reader that נִיד, “he [Jacob] was boiling/stewing” a נִיד, “a stew” – in other words, “he stewed a stew” (v. 29). When Jacob serves the food to Esau a similar phrase is used but one that

names the main ingredient: נִיד שְׂרָשִׁים, or “a stew of lentils” (v. 34). Yet, when Esau returns from the field and sees Jacob cooking, Esau asks Jacob to

please let him gulp down some of הָאֵדָם הָאֵדָם הַזֶּה, which is translated most commonly as “the red stew, this red stew,” and less commonly as “the red stuff, this red stuff” (v. 30).⁴⁷

Some commentators argue that Esau assumed Jacob was making a stew with meat in it or that he did not know what was in the stew and that, either way, he was shocked with what he was served.⁴⁸ However, הָאֵדָם could refer to the color of the lentils, which would then cast doubt on the premise that

Esau did not know what Jacob was cooking.⁴⁹ There were two subspecies of lentils cultivated in the southern Levant during the Iron Age: *microsperma* and *macrosperma*. The former is the more common and are small- to medium-sized pods with small seeds. The latter is the less common and has large flat pods with one to two large seeds.⁵⁰ These types of lentils come in a range of colors, including one of the most common colors, red. They are rich in protein and carbohydrates and have a short cooking time of about 10–15 min. on a modern stovetop.⁵¹ Along with the lentil stew, Jacob serves Esau bread and something to drink – although what he drank is not specified.

Boiled lentils are quick, easy to prepare, an excellent source of nourishment, and thus were a common staple in the diet of the average ancient Israelite and Judahite. Mulder-Heymans's experimental archaeological project referred to in the previous chapter, in which local Druze villagers made a *tabun* and a cooking pot, ended with the preparation of bread and a lentil stew.⁵²

If Jacob was with the rest of the household and there was some sort of semi-permanent *tabun/tannur*, then it is possible that he would have prepared his stew in a similar way as Mulder-Heymans did. If there was no semi-permanent installation or if Jacob was out with the herds as Walton et al. suggest, then it would be likely that the pot was placed on a hearth or over/in a fire pit. Archaeologically, what type of pot the lentils were stewed in is difficult to say because of the dating issue of both the narrative and the time it purports to reflect. Suffice it to say, if the narrative is meant to take place during the Bronze Age and if the amount of lentils prepared was small, then it is more than likely that it was prepared in a small pot. If it is set after the arrival of the Philistines, a small amount of lentils could have been prepared in a Philistine-style cooking jug. On the other hand, if he was preparing a large amount of lentils Jacob could have used a larger traditional-style pot. In the practices current at the time of the writer, in the Iron II or post-Iron II period, large amounts of lentils could have been prepared in either a large traditional-style pot or a medium-size hybrid pot.

As was shown in the recipes from the Yale culinary tablets, lentils were boiled with cereals to create porridge, while stews were more often made of meat and vegetables. However, a lentil recipe by the Roman Apicius shows that stewed lentils did not have to result in a boring lentil stew:

Another lentil recipe. Boil them. When they have foamed, add leeks and green coriander. [Crush] coriander seed, pennyroyal, laser root, mint seed and rue seed. Moisten with vinegar, add honey, *garum*, vinegar, mix in a little *defrutum*, add oil and stir. Add extra as required. Bind with *amulum*, drizzle with green oil and sprinkle with pepper. Serve.⁵³

There is a second passage in the Hebrew Bible that illustrates the preparation of a lentil dish. In Ezek. 4:9a the Lord commands Ezekiel, “And you take wheat, barley, beans, lentils, millet and rye and put them into one vessel and

make them into food for yourself.” Most commentators argue that the use of the word *lechem* here should be translated “bread” not “food,” because v. 12 states, “You will eat it as a barley loaf.” However, O. Borowski makes an interesting observation that challenges this traditional reading:

Although Ezekiel is commanded to take different types of grains and legumes, put them in a vessel, and make *lechem*, “bread”, it is very likely that the prophet made porridge, since the term *lechem* in the OT applies also to food in general ... In addition, a mixture of legumes and cereal would not produce good enough dough, but would be perfect for porridge.⁵⁴

Ezekiel’s recipe is symbolic of the impoverished conditions that Israel was to face, but it is possible that the lentils and other ingredients were boiled down into porridge. The most common way to prepare lentils was to boil them, but perhaps Ezekiel’s porridge was then molded or put into a bread mold and baked. Regardless, lentils were used in the ancient Near East as a staple because they were inexpensive, easy to obtain, quick to cook, stretched a long way, and were full of protein and carbohydrates, which were essential to subsistence living.

Why was the food prepared?

The reason why the food is prepared is not given in the narrative. If there is any merit to Walton et al.’s theory that Jacob was the head shepherd out with the flocks then it can be speculated that he was preparing his (and possibly the other shepherds, if there were any) evening meal. If he was with the rest of his father’s household, then he could have been preparing the evening meal for the household, which could be indicative of the free-flowing nature of gender roles within a subsistence-level domestic economy.

While there may not be a definitive reason why Jacob was preparing lentils, there are several more symbolic reasons that add layers of meaning to the narrative. (1) The oracle given to Rebekah – that the older son will be the slave to the younger (Gen. 25:23) – begins to be realized. (2) The narrative provides the manner in which Esau received his nickname, Edom, and the continuation of how Jacob lived out the meaning of his name, “he supplants.” (3) Like most of the narratives in Genesis it attempts to answer questions of beginnings, so to speak, such as the beginning of creation, civilization, Israel, and its relationship with its neighbors; the narrative attempts to recount the beginning of the conflict between Israel (Jacob) and its neighbor Edom (Esau) with whom it was constantly at odds (Num. 20:14–21; 1 Sam. 14:47; 2 Sam. 8:14; 2 Kgs 8:20, 22; Ps. 137:7; Ezek. 25:12–14; Obad. 8–21; Mal. 1:4). (4) Lastly, the narrative is part of the explanation of how Jacob obtained the rights of the firstborn son, the blessing bestowed on the firstborn (Gen. 27:1–40),

and the subsequent covenant between Yahweh and Jacob (Gen. 28:13–15). The reason why Jacob prepared a meal is an educated guess at best, but the reasons why the narrative is told are numerous and part of Israel's quest to answer who they were, how they got there, how they established a covenant with Yahweh, and how they got into a combative relationship with their neighbor, Edom.

Summary

Jacob prepared an evening meal of a savory red lentil stew either in a small or medium-sized cooking pot, depending on the amount of lentils to be cooked. The method of preparation, whether on a makeshift hearth or over the top opening of some sort of semi-permanent *tabun/tannur* is uncertain and depends upon the circumstances of Jacob's situation and surroundings. If Jacob was out in the field with the flocks, then the meal would have been prepared on a makeshift hearth; if at the household, then either a hearth or a semi-permanent *tabun/tannur*. The same circumstances affect whether or not Jacob was cooking for himself or others (the household or shepherds). Whether intentionally or not, Jacob ended up using the meal as a means to obtain the birthright he desired in exchange for feeding his brother. The narrative attempts to answer many questions of Israelite ancestry and relationship with their neighbor, Edom.

Passage 3: Judges 6:19–21

Context of the passage

In the book of Judges, the integrity and moral decline of the judges is drastic from the first judge, Othniel, to the last, Samson. However, it is one of the mid-point judges, Gideon, who is often viewed as the center of the book because he represents the beginning of the decline – or the beginning of the end, so to speak. The view that Gideon is another Moses-type figure is hardly new, but one cannot overlook the “reluctant hero” similarity between the two. For the purpose of this research, however, it is not who Gideon is, his literary connections, or his military exploits that are of interest; what is of interest is the meal he prepares in Judg. 6:19–21. A brief look at the context of the passage is appropriate here.

The narrator begins by stating that, once again, Israel did what was offensive to the Lord. As their punishment, the Midianites prevailed over them, causing the Israelites to hide within caves and strongholds of mountains. Additionally, the Midianites and company ravaged the land, destroying any produce and herds the Israelites farmed, leaving no means of sustenance for them. Once again, Israel cried out and the Lord heard their cry. A prophet was first sent to Israel and reminded them that it was the Lord who delivered them from slavery in Egypt and gave them the land. In return, they

were not to worship other gods – which is exactly what they did and, consequently, why they were being punished (6:1–6). The scene abruptly ends and another begins with the arrival of a messenger of God. Our hero, Gideon, is threshing wheat, albeit not on a threshing floor but in a wine press, indicating that he was attempting to hide the harvest from the Midianites (v. 11).⁵⁵ The messenger appears to Gideon and announces that he will deliver Israel from the Midianites; to which Gideon protests, informing the messenger that there is no way he could be a hero because, not only is his clan the humblest in all of Manasseh, but he is the youngest in his father's household – typical of the reluctant hero motif (vv. 13–16). Nevertheless, Gideon asks for a sign from the messenger and requests that he stay until he returns with his gift/offering (v. 17). The narrator does not specify what the sign from the messenger is meant to be, but Gideon returned with a meal that the messenger did not eat but consumed with fire and then disappeared. Gideon apparently then realized who the messenger was and built an altar to Yahweh (vv. 19–24). After his encounter with the messenger, Gideon was commissioned by Yahweh to do two things: one, to tear down the altar to Baal and the Asherah post that belonged to his father (vv. 25–32); and two, to destroy the Midianites (ch. 7). He does both, although in secret and after more signs of confirmation, respectively. The Gideon narratives are fascinating and have been the subject of much research. The meal and its preparation by Gideon is the focus of this section, with the hope that the archaeological and secondary resources previously researched will help illuminate the gastronomical daily life presented within the Hebrew Bible.

Who prepared the food?

Gideon was the preparer of the food (6:19). Gideon's name is taken from the root גִּדַּע, which means “to hew, hew down or off”⁵⁶ or “hacker,” and reflects what Gideon was doing when introduced in the narrative – hacking or threshing wheat.⁵⁷ Moreover, a great deal of information regarding Gideon can be gleaned from his narratives. Gideon was the youngest son of Joash, from the clan of Abiezrite, of the tribe of Manasseh (6:11, 15). He knew how to thresh wheat and prepare food (vv. 11, 19). He was considered or was going to be a “mighty warrior” (v. 12). He doubted God (v. 13) but was obedient, yet fearful of the members of his father's household and townspeople (v. 27). He was given the nickname “Jerubbaal,” meaning “let Baal contend against him” (v. 32). Even though the spirit of the Lord was upon him (v. 34), he was insecure and constantly sought confirmation and encouragement (6:36–40; 7:10–15). He was creative in his attempt to defeat the Midianites (7:16–22), a smooth talker (8:1–3), provided for his troops (8:5–17), and he declined dynastic kingship in favor of Yahweh ruling over Israel (8:22–3) but then created an opportunity for continued idolatry (8:24–7).

Gideon, the reluctant judge, is a complex character who prepared food for a visitor. Food prepared for a visitor in and of itself is not usual, but the fact that

Gideon, a male, prepares the food is worthy of note because it contradicts the so-called “patriarchal culture” of the biblical world, or at least how the “patriarchal culture” is reflected within the biblical text. In the narrative Gideon prepared the food himself, unlike Abraham who had Sarah and a servant prepare most of the meal for their visitors (Gen. 18:6–8).

For whom was the food prepared?

The narrative provides conflicting answers about the person for whom the food was prepared. It might have been the prophet in 6:7–10; however, it is not clear if he is identical with the messenger of Yahweh sitting under the terebinth tree in 6:11–12 or if the latter is a new character. Throughout the ensuing dialogue, the visitor is described in a variety of terms: “the messenger of God” (v. 20), the “messenger of Yahweh” (vv. 21–2), and even simply “Yahweh” (vv. 14, 16, 23).

The conflicting terms may be describing one person or many. Robert Boling suggests that the messenger goes before Yahweh to prepare the way and that Yahweh will remain invisible until the main character provides the “right offering”: “In the present context, Yahweh has caught up with his envoy, and Gideon is in a three-way conversation without realizing it.”⁵⁸ This theological assessment does not take into account the literary techniques used within the narrative. More recently, S.F. Noll writes that the terms “messenger of God/Yahweh” and “Yahweh” denote the same singular visitor. “These human messengers are fully equated with their senders ... It was sometimes difficult to distinguish between human and angelic messengers ... [for he] speaks in God’s name and occasionally appears as Yahweh himself.”⁵⁹ Furthermore, T. Butler argues that the prophet and messenger are one in the same, illustrating a literary device of pairing found throughout the Gideon narratives. He writes,

The Judges 6 narrative leads us to believe the prophet of the previous message is now the messenger of Yahweh ... This messenger paired with the prophet of 6:8 also serves as the first of several people and things paired together in the Gideon narrative. These include Gideon’s two names (with Jerubbaal), two names for God (Yahweh and Elohim), Gideon’s two fleece tests, two buildings of the altar in 6:24–32, two pairs of Midianite officers executed (7:25–8:21), two tests of assurance of Yahweh’s support (6:36–38, 39–40), and two tests God uses to reduce Gideon’s army (7:2–3, 4–8).⁶⁰

The most likely scenario is that the prophet who appeared in vv. 6–10 is the same messenger of God/Yahweh in the rest of the chapter who occasionally is called Yahweh simply because he represents the divine; the difference in terminology stems from the use of pairing as a literary device throughout the Gideon narratives.

Where and when was the food prepared?

At the beginning of the narrative, the location and time of year of Gideon's encounter with the messenger are given. The messenger of the Lord was sitting under the terebinth at Ophrah, which belonged to Joash of the clan of Abiezrite, of the tribe of Manasseh. While the exact location of Ophrah is uncertain, the tribal territory of Manasseh was in the central hill country of the southern Levant in both the Transjordan and Cisjordan.⁶¹ Aharoni suggests that ancient Ophrah is the modern town of Affuleh in the central Jezreel Valley, which is in the tribal territory of Manasseh.⁶² A discussion of the more precise location where the food was prepared will take place in the ensuing discussion about *when the food was prepared*.

When Gideon prepared the meal can be gleaned from v. 11, which states Gideon was threshing wheat in a wine vat. According to the Gezer Manual (more commonly known as the Gezer Calendar), the *yrh qsr wkl*, or “month of harvesting (wheat),” is the sixth season, which today would be placed from the end of April to the end of May.⁶³ Wheat was threshed immediately after it was harvested, usually on a threshing floor located outside the settlement fortifications or boundary walls. According to O. Borowski, the exact location of threshing floors was determined by the local topography and the prevalent westerly winds used during the winnowing process. To keep the winnowing chaff and dust outside the settlement, threshing floors were located outside the settlement.⁶⁴

But Gideon was not threshing the wheat on the established threshing floor; rather, he was using a **נַת**, or “wine press.” Borowski notes that there were three types of wine presses, two of which were designated by their location.⁶⁵ A **נַת** was a wine press built inside the settlement fortifications or boundary walls, while a **נַת חוּל** was a wine press hewn out of rock outside the settlement and could have been used as an olive press.⁶⁶ The third type of wine press, **נַת נֶרֶם**, is classified by Borowski as a portable press and became the standard unit of measure. Since Gideon was threshing wheat with a stick in a **נַת**, he was doing so inside the settlement fortifications (**נֶרֶם**, or “fortified settlement,” see vv. 27–8). The report of a terebinth tree located near the wine press need not indicate a location for both outside the settlement; perhaps the settlement was established and grew around the tree. Many trees are designated as sacred sites.⁶⁷ It is not clear, however, if the terebinth is near the wine press. Verse 11 states that the messenger is sitting under the tree and Gideon is threshing wheat. Verse 12 jumps to the messenger appearing before Gideon; perhaps the messenger who initially was beneath the terebinth moved and appeared to Gideon at the wine press within the settlement.

By threshing inside the settlement, Gideon would have been closer to home and therefore closer to his household's ingredients and installations. The narrator informs the reader that the Midianites had ravaged the land and nothing was left to sustain the Israelites (vv. 3–6), but Gideon and his father's household were somehow able to grow wheat without it being taken or

destroyed. With that said, it can be inferred that, since the harvest had to be done in secret and threshed in a smaller wine press out of sight, the harvest was a small one and was probably harvested and threshed in May. Under normal circumstances, a large harvest could take much longer, resulting in the threshing being done in June. Consequently, it can be deduced that Gideon prepared his food within the settlement fortification (probably at his home) in the wheat harvest/threshing month of May.

Verse 19 informs the reader that “Gideon entered and prepared,” indicating that he did not prepare the meal at the wine press. Since the text indicates there was a severe shortage of food in the land, it can be assumed that the inhabitants of the settlement would not have been eager or even able to help Gideon, causing him to go to his father’s house within the settlement fortifications to prepare the meal from their own meager provisions.

What food was prepared and how?

Gideon in his haste prepared a meal of **גִּדְי־עֵזִים**, or “a kid of she-goats,” and baked **וְאֵיפֶת־קֶמַח מִצּוֹת**, or “unleavened bread from an ephah of flour.” It is interesting to note that the text specifies what kind of meat was prepared – a kid. Meat was not part of a daily meal for two primary reasons: the productivity of an animal ceases when it is slaughtered, and once killed, it needed to be consumed immediately due to the inconsistencies of preservation methods; therefore, the slaughter of an animal must have been assessed with caution.⁶⁸

There are two optional ages for slaughtering lambs and kids, immediately after weaning and at the age of one. Slaughtering a recently-weaned lamb or kid is most economical because at this time the ewe is at the height of milk production and no major investment in the young animal, such as feeding, has been made by the herd owner ... males not destined to become studs are slaughtered early.⁶⁹

Verse 19 states that Gideon prepared a kid but does not disclose where he acquired it. The most obvious assumption is that Gideon selected a kid from the household flock. If this is the case, then it could indicate that Gideon took the economy of the household into consideration. Also, the selection of a kid suggests an animal smaller in size that would take less time to butcher and cook, not to mention less opportunity for waste, particularly during a time of want.

In verse 18 Gideon persuades the mysterious guest to stay until he can bring out his **מִנְחָתִי**, which can be translated as “gift, present, tribute, or offering.”⁷⁰ Gideon’s meal could be considered as just a gift or as containing more cultic symbolism. The status of a kid as a sacrificial offering is found in Lev. 1:10–13 where it states that a burnt offering can be an unblemished male from the flock of sheep or goats. Alberto Soggin argues that the gift or

offering of a meal could be “a reference to the ritual of the sanctuary ... and made up the original elements of the sacred food in the sanctuary of Ophrah.”⁷¹ The narrative could reflect the tradition of a ritual meal at Ophrah but the contents of the meal itself, namely the kid, could be a priestly edit to help substantiate the sacrificial regulations.

The narrator also comments on how the kid was prepared, albeit indirectly: **הַבָּשָׂר שֶׁבַל וְהַמֶּרְק שֶׁבַבָּרֹר** or “He put the meat in a basket and put the broth into a pot.” The word **מֶרְק**, from the root **מֶרַק**, means “juice stewed out of meat or broth,” denoting that the meat was cooked, not raw, and was boiled, not roasted;⁷² a point Soggin confirms by stating that **מֶרַק** is used either for sauce or meat stock.⁷³ The fact that the verse mentions both meat and broth is revealing: it indicates that Gideon boiled the meat, resulting in cooked meat and a meat broth. As was shown in the secondary resources, even though it was more of a dish reserved for special occasions, when meat was prepared it was more than likely boiled instead of roasted. Archaeologically, what type of pot the kid was boiled in is difficult to say because of the dating issue of both the narrative and the time it purports to reflect. Suffice it to say, if the narrative is meant to take place before the Iron II period, the kid would more than likely have been prepared in the large Canaanite-style pot; if Iron II or post-Iron II, it could have been prepared in either a large Canaanite-style pot or a large-size hybrid pot, depending on the actual size of the animal and the size of the butchered pieces. Since bread was also prepared, more than likely in the household *tannur/tabun*, it is possible the meat was boiled in a pot over the top opening of the oven. It is not clear why Gideon served the meat in a basket and the broth in a pot. In 1 Sam. 2:12–17 the Israelites are directed to give the priests a piece of raw meat out of the pot for the sacrifice. However, raw meat does not seem to be the case here. As was shown above, **קָרַב** indicates the meat was cooked in such a way that it produced a meat broth – that is, boiling or stewing. Perhaps the traditional gifts/offering of Ophrah were served separately and/or the later priestly redactors edited the scene in such a way as to reflect more the sacrificial system, which does not include broth.

Gideon also prepared for the messenger unleavened bread, which would take less time to prepare than leavened bread since it did not need to rise. The narrator informs the reader he used a specific amount of flour to make the unleavened bread, **וַאִיֶּפֶת־קֶמַח**, or “and an ephah of flour.” According to O. Borowski, one ephah of flour equals 5.8 US gallons (or 5.61 UK gallons/44.9 UK pints).⁷⁴ This is a disproportionately large quantity of flour to use to make unleavened bread for just one person. George Moore compares Gideon’s unleavened bread with 1 Sam. 1:24, where Hannah takes a young Samuel to the shrine at Shiloh with an ephah of flour, a three-year old bull, and a skin of wine.⁷⁵ An ephah of flour seems more appropriate as a long-term provision, as in 1 Sam. 1:24, than as a single measurement to make unleavened bread for one person. Is it possible the large quantity was in order to have some for

himself and some for the visitor to take on the road? Why did Gideon use an ephah of flour? The preparation of a meal for visitors is common in the Hebrew Bible, but there appears to be no customary or fixed meal of hospitality – one offered as much as one could. Tammi Schneider suggests that either Gideon did not know what he was doing, or was trying to impress the messenger.⁷⁶ Boling notes that “Gideon never does anything in proper proportion.”⁷⁷ This issue will be addressed further under *why was the food prepared*.

As was shown in the archaeological and secondary sources chapters, the baking of bread was most commonly done in a *tannur/tabun* oven. It is unlikely that Gideon would have been able to prepare the meal anywhere but at home. If Gideon was already inside the settlement walls threshing wheat, it can be deduced that the location of his father’s house was likewise within the settlement and would not have taken him long to reach. However, the preparation of the meal would have taken time, which is confirmed by Gideon’s request of the messenger to stay until he returns (v. 18). The unleavened bread would have taken less time to prepare than leavened bread because it was unnecessary to let the bread rise. It is easy to imagine that while the meat was being butchered and cooked, the bread was being prepared. If an entire ephah of flour was used, then the preparation of that large amount of dough would have needed the entire length of time the meat took to prepare. The narrative does not mention Gideon having any help in preparing the meal. If he prepared the food alone it can be deduced that it would have taken an extended period of time. On the other hand, if he did have help it would have hastened the preparation considerably, but then again it would introduce a competing supporting character into the narrative. It is possible that Gideon would have had access to a public *tannur/tabun*, although, with the rarity of food, it is unlikely that Gideon would have prepared that much food within sight of others; hence, it is probable to assume that the preparation of the meal would have taken place within his father’s house utilizing the household ingredients, cooking vessels, and installations.

Why was the food prepared?

Most scholarship views Gideon’s reasoning for preparing the meal to have been motivated by hospitality or to be a means of discernment. The appearance of guests required acts of hospitality from the host. While there are no set rules of hospitality in written form, various texts offer a glimpse into this custom. In the Hebrew Bible, the offering of rest, washing of feet, a sumptuous meal, and protection are commonly found in stories that feature guests (Gen. 18:1–8; 19; Judg. 19:4–8). Schneider confesses she does not know if Gideon was acting on the basis of hospitable norms. She raises the probability that with his large amount of flour, Gideon was just trying to impress the visitor but did not know what he was doing.⁷⁸

Others argue that the request of a sign by the hero is common to the call-

narrative genre, which this passage exemplifies (Gen. 15:8; Exod. 3:12–13; 4:1).⁷⁹ Similarly, Y. Amit views Gideon's request for a sign as means of determining the guest's identity:

Only at a later stage, once Gideon suspected that the person speaking to him was indeed an angel of the Lord, at the stage of requesting the sign, he offered to bring the guest a portion of food. In this case, the food was not an act of hospitality, but a means of ascertaining the guest's identity ... the angel's behavior upon receiving the food will serve Gideon as a sign. If the angel eats the offering, he will be seen as a human being, whereas if he observes the prohibition of eating that applies to angels, this will serve as a hint of his miraculous nature.⁸⁰

Amit's observations are compelling but do not take into account the large amount of flour used to bake the unleavened bread, nor the fact that the meat was prepared before it was brought to the messenger. Moreover, how does Amit know that angels do not eat? The large amount of flour could indicate that Gideon did not know what he was doing or could indicate that, while he may not have known the exact measurements to use, he knew that proper etiquette required him to prepare a generous meal.⁸¹ Some scholars see the fact that the kid was prepared and not brought out alive as suggesting that it was not seen as a sacrifice, but as a meal that was intended to be consumed,⁸² while others see the meal as a cultic ritual at a local sanctuary.⁸³ Alternatively, the similarities between Gideon's meal and the burnt offering regulations in Lev. 1:10–13 could indicate later priestly editorializing.

Summary

Gideon prepared a meal of unleavened bread and boiled meat with broth probably at his father's house in Ophrah during the wheat harvest and threshing months of May and June. Gideon used household ingredients, vessels, and installations to prepare, albeit with strange proportions, a generous meal for the messenger of Yahweh who did not consume the meal, but used it as a sign of confirmation to Gideon.

Passage 4:2 Samuel 13:5–10

Context of the passage

The story of the rape of Tamar has no shortage of analysis. Various studies on women, violence, the family, and succession of King David have used 2 Samuel 13 as part of their investigations.⁸⁴ However, this passage is also one of the few in the Hebrew Bible that mentions food being prepared, at least more than in passing. This passage deals directly with the subject matter at hand – the preparation of food – although the context of the larger passage is

important to help set the stage, so to speak. The narrative is set within the royal household, which designates an elite setting; however, the so-called elite setting is still within the parameters of the domestic units and, as will be shown below, is clearly not elite or *haute* cuisine, but rather an everyday sickbed ritual.

The narrative begins with the opening phrase, “Some time passed” from the infamous David/Bathsheba/Uriah/Nathan incident (see 2 Sam. 11–12). David’s children, Absalom, Tamar (Absalom’s full sister), and Amnon (their half sibling and the crown prince) are introduced, as is the conflict: Tamar was a beautiful virgin and Amnon desired her, so much so that he tortured himself over the fact that he could not have her. The reader is not told why Amnon could not have her other than that she was a virgin (13:1–2). Amnon’s friend and cousin, Yehonadav, enters the scene and is introduced as a crafty or cunning man. Yehonadav advised Amnon to feign illness so that King David would be concerned enough to visit his heir and indulge him with whatever he asked: that Tamar would be sent to cook for him and that he would eat from her hand, thus allowing Amnon to get close to her (vv. 3–5). If one were looking to absolve Yehonadav from any responsibility in what Amnon did after taking his advice, one could point out that Yehonadav did not suggest what Amnon should do with Tamar once he was close to her. On the other hand, the text (v. 3) prefaces Yehonadav’s advice with a clue as to his integrity and moral character, allowing the reader to assume that a sexual encounter (whether voluntary or forced) was the intended outcome.⁸⁵

Yehonadav’s plan was successful and Tamar was sent for; she obligingly cooked but Amnon refused to eat (vv. 7–8). Amnon sent the servants out of his presence and, once he was alone with Tamar, seized her and made his true intentions known (vv. 9–13). Tamar refused, but Amnon ignored her and raped her, after which he loathed her and forced her out of his house (vv. 14–17). Tamar refused to go quietly; as she mourned, her brother Absalom enters the scene and, after guessing what happened, takes Tamar to live in his house even though she is shamed (vv. 18–20). When King David heard what happened, he did nothing to punish Amnon because he loved him; consequently, Absalom began plotting his own punishment of Amnon – death (vv. 21–2).

It is obvious why this passage is often studied: its soap-opera-like narrative not only provides scholars with the prophesied outcome of David’s punishment regarding Bathsheba and Uriah, but also a glimpse into the Israelite/Judahite world of rape and domestic violence. What has not been studied in detail, however, is the food Tamar prepared for Amnon. In this section, the preparation of food in 2 Samuel 13 will be addressed, with the hope that the archaeological and secondary resources previously researched will help illuminate the gastronomical daily life presented within the Hebrew Bible.

Who prepared the food?

In vv. 1–2, the narrator supplies not only the name of the cook, Tamar, but also her familial relations (King David is her father, Absalom is her full brother, and Amnon is her half-brother), a brief description of her marital status (she was a virgin and thus not married), and of her physical description (she is beautiful). Second Samuel 3:3 provides a list of the sons born to David while his capital for the Judahite kingdom was still in Hebron. In this list Absalom's mother, and consequently Tamar's mother, is recorded as Maacah, the daughter of King Talmai of Geshur.⁸⁶ Even though she is one of the main characters of this narrative, in the context of this passage, Tamar, her fate, and her tragic story are secondary to the struggle between her two brothers for succession to the throne.⁸⁷

Recently a few scholars have questioned Tamar's virginal status ' not so much that she was not a virgin but that she was something more than a virgin. Adrien Bledstein and R. Neunfeldt both argue that Tamar's role in the monarchic household was more than as one of the king's virgin daughters, and that she participated in household rituals, some possibly cultic in nature.⁸⁸ Both Bledstein and Neunfeldt point to v. 18a that states, "And she was wearing a *long tunic with sleeves*, for such *robes* were worn by the virgin daughters of the king" (2 Sam. 13:18a). For Bledstein and Neunfeldt, the clues are what Tamar was wearing – a כִּתְּיֹת פַּסִּים, or a long tunic with sleeves (more commonly translated as a "coat of many colors"), and מְעִילִים, or a robe worn over a tunic.⁸⁹ According to their research, both the clothing terms used in v. 18a have primarily ritualistic or priestly functions in the rest of the Hebrew Bible.⁹⁰ Neunfeldt writes,

The mention of the garment of the king's virgin daughter using terminology that shows sacred and royal suits suggests that the role that she plays may be in connection with the practice of rituals ... Allied to this ..., the issue of the garment that is mentioned explicitly to explain Tamar's status seems trying to indicate that she has peculiar functions in the performance of rituals into the royal house.⁹¹

Bledstein goes one step further by stating that, "we are meant to understand that Tamar's *ketōōnetō passīm*, identified as a *m'illīm*, served to confirm that she was a royal priestess."⁹² If their assessment is correct, the reason why Tamar cooked for Amnon (besides his true intentions) could be altered – this issue will be addressed in detail under the heading *why was the food prepared*.

Hertzberg notes a discrepancy in the text that does not portray Tamar as the first person attempting to serve the cooked food to Amnon. In a footnote to v. 9, he writes that "*wattiqra* 'et-hammesaret (*And she called the servant*) has fallen out before the similar words which follow, see BH." Consequently, he translates v. 9, "*And she called the servant and [they] took the pan and emptied it out before him, but he refused.*"⁹³ If his argument is correct, then it

would seem to Amnon that his scheme failed in that Tamar did not serve him, nor was he alone with her. It was only after the servant(s) attempted to serve Amnon that he realized he must act quickly or risk losing his opportunity to be alone with Tamar; thus, he banishes the servants, leaving Tamar with no choice but to serve her brother his requested meal in bed.

For whom was the food prepared?

Amnon was David's firstborn, thus the heir apparent to the crown. His mother was Ahinoam of Jezreel and he was born in Hebron while David was ruling the Judahite kingdom and warring with the descendants of Saul for the allegiance of the other ten Israelite tribes (2 Sam. 3:2). In setting the scene, the narrator hints as to the type of person Amnon is: he desires beautiful things (his sister whom he desires is beautiful); possibly is sexually frustrated (he was so tormented with "love"/desire he made himself ill); is swayed by others (he took his crafty cousin's advice); is a liar (he pretended to be ill); does not take "no" for an answer (he refused to listen to Tamar's pleas); is selfish (he took what he wanted with no consideration to others); is an abuser (he forcefully raped Tamar); and perhaps even is bipolar (his "love" or desire turned to great loathing once he got what we wanted). Hertzberg discerns that Amnon was very much like his father, David:

The reader sees that the son is dominated by the same sensuality as his father, a sensuality which takes no notice of men's lives, and will notice divine retribution in the fact that David has to experience this in his own flesh and blood.⁹⁴

Evidence of David's sexual appetite and its command over him is evident in the Bathsheba incident (one could say *rape* of Bathsheba), while Amnon's sexual appetite and its command over him are evident in the Tamar incident (the rape of Tamar). When word of Amnon's actions reached King David, he was angry but he did nothing, "because he loved him and he was his first born" (2 Sam. 13:21). One gets the sense that Amnon was spoiled by his father, not only because he was not punished (2 Sam. 13:21) but also because whatever Amnon asked for while "ill" his father gave him (2 Sam. 13:6–7). Not only does Amnon's sexual appetite and actions reflect his father's, but also David's failure to chastise his son for the rape of Tamar led to David's own punishment for the rape of Bathsheba;⁹⁵ in other words, like father like son.

Where and when was the food prepared?

When the food was prepared is not mentioned in the text, but where it was prepared is. In several instances, the location of the food preparation is stated

as **לְעֵינַי**, or "in my sight," as well as **לְעֵינָיו**, or "in his sight." Amnon not

only wants a specific food prepared for him by Tamar, but he wants to watch her prepare it. What exactly did it mean to prepare food in someone's sight? Does it mean that Tamar literally prepared the food right in front of Amnon, with him watching over her shoulder *per se*? Perhaps Amnon had a weird food fetish? Or does it mean Tamar prepared the food at a distance but within Amnon's view?

While this passage intends to reflect the Iron Age, it is difficult to say what the layout of the royal palace would have been since few to no remains have been recovered. However, if one were to speculate that the layout of Amnon's quarters were similar to other Iron Age houses, there are a few possible locations in which Tamar could have prepared the food. The setting of the narrative is given in v. 7, where David asks Tamar to go down to the house (בֵּית) of Amnon. This suggests that Amnon did not live in the palace proper with his father and Tamar; however, it can be speculated that, as the heir apparent, Amnon's house was located within some sort of palace compound. The text states that Amnon was lying down and pretending to be ill (2 Sam. 13:6, 8). He could have been lying down in some sort of sleeping area or bedroom either inside the house on the first or second level. A third option would have been on the roof. In view of the fact that dwellings in the Iron Age had a distinctive style, there are several places where members of the household could have slept: during the cooler months, if the dwelling had a second level, this would have been the primary sleeping area; if there was no second level, a side room, back room, or perhaps even the central room on the ground level could have been used for sleeping using portable "mattresses" that would be stored away during the day to make room for domestic activities. During the hot summer months, sleeping areas could have been moved outside, more than likely onto the flat roof. Consequently, Amnon could have been lying down anywhere, but could he watch Tamar cook from all of these locations?

Hertzberg argues that "the food is prepared in a vestibule or side room, so that Amnon, lying on a bed 'in the chamber' can see everything that goes on."⁹⁶ This argument seems more plausible than Tamar cooking the food at Amnon's bedside; however, without any evidence as to the layout of the royal palace compound, Hertzberg's arguments seem unlikely. If one were to assume that Amnon's house or quarters was comparable to the popular Iron Age style of domestic architecture, then in all likelihood the set up would have been exactly the opposite of what Hertzberg argues. As was shown in the earlier spatial analysis, installations for food preparation were usually permanent and located in central areas on the ground level, either inside the house or in the outside courtyard; this considerably narrows down the options as to where Tamar could have prepared food.

Regardless of what was prepared and how, food installations and *tannaneer* within domestic dwellings were not portable, more often than not; therefore, Tamar would have had no option as to where to prepare the food, unless the

cooking installation took the form of a brazier, a portable container used to hold fire to heat a room or occasionally cook over. As appealing as this alternative may be, braziers in antiquity are seen more as means of heating than cooking.⁹⁷ More than likely, Tamar utilized Amnon's household cooking installation or *tannur/tabun* that was located either in the dwelling's central indoor space or the outside courtyard. Furthermore, if Amnon could see her cooking from where he lay, it seems probable that he was lying down in one of the first-floor, indoor side or back rooms that opened into the central room where Tamar was utilizing the household cooking installations.⁹⁸

What food was prepared and how?

Second Samuel 13:5–10 is one of the few passages in the Hebrew Bible that specifically mentions not just food but the cooking of foodstuffs, even though it is a secondary element to the narrative. Nevertheless, this passage provides a rare glimpse into the preparation of food in either elite or domestic contexts within the Hebrew Bible. Even within this small passage there are different terms used to describe what was cooked. For instance, Yehonadav used the

general terms **לֶחֶם**, or “bread/food,” and **בִּרְיָה**, or “food,” when he advised Amnon (v. 5). When he made his request to David (v. 6), Amnon exchanged

Yehonadav's general terms for the more specific term **לֶבְבוֹת**, which is most commonly translated as “cakes,” “heart-shaped cakes/bread,” or more rarely as “hearty dumplings.”⁹⁹ Amnon requested from his father not just food, but a

certain type of food, **לֶבְבוֹת**, prepared only by Tamar. But, when David sent word to Tamar he did not repeat Amnon's request, nor did he even use the

same word, **לֶבְבוֹת**. In fact, David (or his messenger) used the identical generic word for food that Yehonadav used, **בִּרְיָה** (v. 7). Interestingly, the narrator reports that Tamar (she did not have a voice at this point) made

לֶבְבוֹת, not the generic **בִּרְיָה** or the still more common **לֶחֶם**, even though she was not directly told in the narrative what to prepare (v. 8). In the final verse of this passage, both the generic and specific terms are used, but by

different voices. For the first time Amnon used the noun **בִּרְיָה** while the narrator continued with **לֶבְבוֹת** on behalf of Tamar (v. 10). James Ackerman

suggests that the use of **לֶבְבוֹת** by Amnon and the continued use of it by the narrator reflects only Amnon's point of view.¹⁰⁰ While this is an interesting point to make, it does not take into account Amnon's use, albeit one out of

character, of **בִּרְיָה**, not **לֶבְבוֹת** (v. 10). At this point, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that, in general, Tamar made food (**בִּרְיָה** or **לֶחֶם**) for

Amnon; more specifically, she made **לֶבְבוֹת**. Unfortunately, this does not elucidate what **לֶבְבוֹת** were. Perhaps moving on to how the **לֶבְבוֹת** were

prepared will help clarify what they were. A clue is provided in v. 8 where the narrator writes that the **לֶבְבוֹת** was made out of **בָּצֵק**, or dough, and (like all

things made out of dough) it was kneaded (לוש).

After the dough was kneaded, Tamar made the תבשיל by לבבות the dough. The verb תבשל is used in the piel form, which specifically means to “boil or stew” and more generically to “cook,” but is often translated in this instance as “bake.”¹⁰¹ Most scholars unwittingly assume that if the dish were made of dough it had to have been baked; however, what Tamar does after she prepares the food must also be taken into account:

וַתִּקַּח אֶת־הַמִּשְׁרָה וַתִּזְקַק (‘‘and she took the pan and she poured [it] out,’’ v. 9). The verb וַתִּזְקַק translates as ‘‘poured,’’ not ‘‘set’’ as many English versions use;¹⁰² the pouring out of food coincides with a method of preparation by

boiling or stewing, not baking. The noun מִשְׁרָה is only used in the Hebrew Bible this one time and is defined as a ‘‘pan, dish,’’ but is created ‘‘apparently from an unused root meaning to perforate, i.e. hollow out; a pan.’’¹⁰³ Unfortunately, the above reference does not mention what unused root they

are alluding to; however, מִשְׁרָה could derive from the root שָׂרַת, which means ‘‘to serve’’ and is thought to have been a primitive root;¹⁰⁴ perhaps שָׂרַת is the unused root from which מִשְׁרָה is derived? It is possible that the editor/copyist mistook the pointing of the shin (ש) for a sin (ש). However, the word שָׂרַת is used to denote service in cultic or religious contexts and could be used in the Tamar narrative to illustrate further the ritual nature of Tamar’s actions. Alternatively, the word could be read as מִשְׁאֲרָה, meaning a household vessel in which dough was placed before it was leavened or kneaded through.¹⁰⁵ Likewise, the sin (ש) of מִשְׁרָה would be an error in transmission. If this is the case, the vessel used to pour out the dumplings could have first been used to let the dough sit to rise.

On the other hand, supposing the sin (ש) of מִשְׁרָה is not a mistake and is intentionally used in the narrative to designate the use of a perforated pan. Does this mean that this pan does the *perforating* or is the pan itself *perforated*? If it is the latter, then what is identified as ‘‘pan’’ today does not exactly perforate or hollow out; so to what could the term מִשְׁרָה be referring? Most cooks today utilize a food-preparation tool that is perforated – a colander or strainer. Definitions for a colander include, ‘‘A perforated utensil for washing or draining food’’ and ‘‘a bowl-shaped kitchen utensil with perforations for draining off liquids and rinsing food.’’¹⁰⁶ Archaeological examples of strainers exist, but are rare.¹⁰⁷ However, a second vessel more commonly found that could serve the same purpose is a bowl with a perforated base or center.¹⁰⁸ In light of the fact that Tamar boils or stews the dough and would had to have drained the dumplings before serving them to Amnon, this explanation is highly probable. Those who translate לבבות as ‘‘heart-shaped cakes/bread’’ recognize its connection to the Hebrew word for heart, לֵב. McCarter goes a step further by arguing that

The Hebrew name for the dish is *lebibot* (rendered *halitata* by the

Targum Jonathan), and this might mean that they were heart-shaped (KB3) – cf. *lebab*, “heart.” But note the denominative verb *libbeb*, “enhearten,” i.e. “give strength, vigor,” found in Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, not to mention Aramaic cognates ... In the present passage, then, Amnon asks David for *lebibot*, enheartening dumplings, perhaps a traditional food for the sick because of its nourishing quality (“hearty”) and digestibility (“boiled”).¹⁰⁹

McCarter’s argument is persuasive. When the gastronomical context of the Iron II period and its ancient Near Eastern counterparts are added to the discussion, the third option of hearty dumplings seems plausible.

As was shown in the secondary resources, grains, in all forms, played an essential role in the gastronomical daily life of the ancient Near Eastern world in general and the ancient southern Levant in particular. Grains were parched and used as part of a portable lunch, boiled to make porridge or gruel, ground to make flour and then kneaded to make dumplings to serve alone or as part of a stew or to make leavened and unleavened bread and cakes. The *tannur* cooking installation was the primary heat source used to manipulate grain in all of its various forms: parching whole grains on a platter and placed either inside the *tannur* or over the opening at the top; boiling grain in a small (the Philistine jug type) or medium-sized (the hybrid type) cooking pot over the top opening of the *tannur* to make porridge or gruel; ground on a grinding slab or pestle and mortar to produce flour, which was then combined with water (and possibly other ingredients) to make bread baked inside the *tannur*; or dumplings boiled either as a meal in and of itself or as part of a stew in either a hybrid or Canaanite-style cooking pot over the top opening of the *tannur*.

For Amnon’s meal, Tamar took flour and kneaded it into little dumplings that she boiled in a cooking pot (probably a hybrid pot or one similar to it) over the top opening of Amnon’s household indoor *tannur/tabun*. Once cooked, she drained the dumplings in a colander or perforated bowl and served them to Amnon.

Why was the food prepared?

There are various theories attempting to explain why Tamar prepared food for Amnon. The most obvious is that Amnon requested Tamar to do so in order to be alone with her. Perhaps better questions are: Why did Tamar prepare **לבבות לבב**? Why did she prepare it the way she did? McCarter argues that **לבבות לבב** was a traditional food prepared for those who were ill – perhaps like chicken soup today.¹¹⁰ Bar-Efrat endorses this argument, but adds that

The details and amplifications create the impression, however, that the main object is that Amnon should see how Tamar prepares the food so that his appetite will be stimulated, he will eat and recover ... These

contexts [כֹּרֶה in 2 Sam. 3:35; 12:27] indicate that the reference is to eating intended to revive someone who is grieving or mourning. By reiterating this root Jonadab stresses that the object of Tamar's coming is to revive and sustain the patient, and obviously if that is the aim of the request it cannot be declined.¹¹¹

For Bar-Efrat, the use of כֹּרֶה gives the impression of mourning, which was intentional because the stronger the language used, the less chance Amnon's request would have been refused. Hertzberg argues, however, that לִבְבוֹת is the clue not to what was cooked or how, but why. He translates לִבְבוֹת as "What the heart desires," and in this context can be rendered as "what the invalid has an appetite for, his favorite dish."¹¹² In other words, what the invalid wants, the invalid gets – including a temporary departure from the established norm of a young woman being constantly supervised. Likewise, this could also be a pun, since Amnon's "favorite things" include Tamar, the preparer.

These all seem like plausible answers, but to some they seem too simple. Bledstein and Nuenfeldt reason that Tamar's garment, *ket_ōnet_passîm*, is not only an indicator of her status as a virginal daughter of the king who participated in ritual functions but also signals why she was sent by David to prepare food (in this case, כֹּרֶה, which she translates as something beyond an ordinary meal) for Amnon. Bledstein draws from various ancient Near Eastern analogies to support her claim that Tamar, as one of the virgin daughters of the king, was installed as some sort of high priestess (perhaps only within the royal household?) who was summoned by the king (or servants of the king) to perform a healing or purification ritual for the household members who were ill.¹¹³

Performing a ritual, Tamar is intent on eliciting help from a supernatural power to heal her brother. David's sending Tamar to do *habbiryā* suggests that during the early monarchy, her performance of this healing ritual was an accepted practice among those who worshipped YHWH.¹¹⁴

Neunfeldt concurs that the preparation of food by Tamar is more multifaceted than appears to the present-day reader. She writes that "the cooked food is much more [than] only [an] aliment, but is about an offering, and the actuation of Tamar is a performance of a healing ritual."¹¹⁵ As the designated household healer, Tamar would have worn her sacred garments – her tunic with long sleeves. Tamar's sacred status could also explain why Amnon thought it was impossible to do anything to her (v. 2). If their conclusion is right, then perhaps this is how Yehonadab knew the king would send for Tamar if Amnon were sick and that this would be the only way to meet with her unsupervised. Bledstein concludes, "Amnon's callous abuse of this sister

is a sacrilege involving contempt for a sacred rite as well as committing rape and incest.”¹¹⁶

Bledstein and Nuenfeldt provide an interesting theory as to why Tamar prepared food for Amnon. While the analogies from Israel’s neighbors are convincing, the argument of what **בריה** was is lacking, a point even Bledstein makes when she states that “the divinatory meaning of *brh* is not common in Hebrew.”¹¹⁷ Regardless of the differences in translation for **בריה** (I translate it as a common word for food, while Bledstein translates it as something to be performed), the theory of Tamar preparing food as part of a household ritual is appetizing.

Summary

Tamar prepared a meal of hearty dumplings for her half-brother, Amnon, by taking dough, kneading it, boiling it in (probably a hybrid) cooking pot either on top of his household *tannur/tabun*, brazier, or in some other cooking installation, and straining it before having it served or serving it herself. The meal Tamar prepared was probably some sort of traditional sickbed ritual meal.

Conclusion

Four narratives in the Hebrew Bible that illustrate food being prepared in domestic contexts have been researched from a gastronomical perspective. All four passages occur in domestic settings, whether it is a permanent dwelling (Tamar and Gideon) or a mobile goatskin tent (Abraham and Jacob). Arguably, the Tamar narrative in 2 Sam. 13:5–10 is set in the domestic context of the palace and is more elite in nature than the settings of the other passages. Regardless, in all instances the meals were part of the domestic menu but varied according to occasion: Tamar prepared a sickbed meal; Gideon prepared a special, albeit overly abundant, meal for a visitor; Abraham and household prepared a very special meal for three visitors; and Jacob prepared an everyday lentil stew. Two of the meals were prepared in a rush (Gideon, Abraham and household) and more than likely they prepared unleavened bread as part of the meal because there was no time to let the bread rise. While Tamar used unleavened dough, she was not in a rush, nor did she bake bread. Jacob served bread to Esau but no indication is given that he made the bread; it could have already been prepared, especially if Jacob were out with the flocks. In every passage, the person who prepared the food was not the person who ate the food; those who ate the food were all male.

Two of the four meals included meat: a kid (Gideon) and a calf (Abraham and household). The animals were immature, indicating that adult animals were used primarily for their secondary products and were rarely eaten due to the household’s dependency on them. Norms of hospitality seem to favor

serving meat, but the specific kind is left open. Gideon prepared goat with a broth and Abraham and household prepared veal with milk and butter; Gideon did not really seem to know what he was doing. The Yale culinary tablets show stews being prepared in various ways, including in blood and milk. But these latter two types of preparation are forbidden by the kosher dietary laws (Lev. 3:17; 7:26; 17:10–14; 19:26; Deut. 12:16, 23; 15:23). All the meals would have been cooked on a hearth (possibly Abraham's and Jacob's), or a *tabun/tannur* (Tamar's and Gideon's). All of the food preparers would have used a cooking pot to prepare their meal: Tamar to boil the dumplings, Gideon to boil the meat, Jacob to boil the lentils, and Abraham to boil the meat if he did not roast it. The type of cooking pot envisioned to have been used is dependent upon either when the narrative was set or the author/redactor's reality. Either way, Iron Age cooking pots were the types of pots used, either before or after Philistine influence. Small amounts to be boiled could have been prepared in a Philistine-style cooking jug; large amounts and types of food, such as meat, in large, traditional-style cooking pots; and large to medium amounts and types of food in the hybrid Philistine-/“Canaanite”-style traditional pots. Both men and women were the preparers of food. This demonstrates that the so-called patriarchal culture of the Hebrew Bible was not as extensive and concrete as scholars have previously thought. Households, in particular the more rural ones, were about survival and did not have the luxury of gender roles.

What is interesting here is that in all four passages the idea of identity is at stake or to be determined: Tamar is forced to confront Amnon's true, yet ugly identity as a selfish rapist; during his meal, Gideon realizes the divine nature of his visitor and thus changes his own identity – from zero to hero; Abraham learns the identity or divine nature of his three visitors and is told that the promise regarding his identity (fatherhood and, consequently, multiple descendants) was to be fulfilled; and Jacob deceives Esau out of his identity as the firstborn and continues to show the nature of his true identity as a supplanter.

The passages in the Hebrew Bible that mention the preparation of food in domestic settings are few, but when archaeological and secondary resources are applied to them, much about the gastronomical daily life of ancient Israel/Judah can be gleaned. Hopefully, the above research is just the genesis of the application of the wider gastronomical ancient Near Eastern context to the daily life of ancient Israel and Judah as it is reflected in the Hebrew Bible.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSION: MIXING THE INGREDIENTS TOGETHER

The study of food preparation and consumption in various fields has proven to be a subject of great interest and has impacted our understanding of the culture of food in numerous ways. The field of biblical studies and the archaeology of Syro-Palestine is somewhat new to the endeavor but has embraced the micro-focus on daily life, the home, and its activities with gusto. It is my hope that this same enthusiasm will find its way to a micro-focus on food production, preparation, consumption, and distribution in ancient Israel and Judah. Furthermore, it is my sincere hope that this research will help with this endeavor.

The overall aim of this research was to determine if archaeological remains and complementary ancient Near Eastern sources could illuminate the gastronomical daily life of ancient Judahites during the mid- to late Iron Age II as it is exemplified in the Hebrew Bible. The conclusion I have come to based on this research is a clear and resounding yes.

A more specific archaeological question that helped answer the overall aim was: Are there differences in domestic food-preparation techniques in urban and rural environments in Iron IIB–C Judah? The combination of household archaeology and Goody's food-preparation paradigm provided an effective way of looking at the preparation of food in domestic contexts by focusing on the techniques and technologies of domestic cooking. This methodology was applied to four Iron Age IIB–C dwellings within two settlement types by conducting a spatial analysis of the chosen dwelling in those settlements (Tel Lachish, Tel Halif, Khirbet er-Ras, and Pisgat Ze'ev A). As a result of the limited availability of information on rural sites, the archaeological datasets are partial and this research should be viewed as a pilot study. The recipe of household archaeology and Goody's food-preparation paradigm have helped clarify domestic food preparation in Iron IIB–C Judah in both urban and rural

contexts and, consequently, illuminate the gastronomical daily life of the average ancient Judahite as exemplified in the few passages in the Hebrew Bible that reflect food preparation, especially in domestic contexts.

Evidence of food preparation was found in all of the dwellings researched, some more than others. The cooking vessels found in the urban, fortified settlements were all of the pot or hybrid type, while the farmstead's cooking vessels were all of the hybrid or jug type. Traditional pots were the largest of the vessel types and were conducive to various cooking techniques including steaming, frying, simmering, and boiling. They were either placed in the hearth or oven, on top of the oven, or suspended over an open fire if it had handles. Being the largest of the vessel types, they would have been ideal for cooking larger quantities of food and larger foodstuffs, such as meat. The jugs appeared on the scene with the arrival of the Philistines. They had the least amount of volume, restricting them to smaller quantities and smaller foodstuffs, such as cereals and legumes. The jug was ideal for cooking on direct heat; soot marks found usually on the opposite side to the handle indicate that it was placed directly onto the heat source, propped on its side to prevent spilling. Hybrid pots were the marriage of the traditional pot with the Philistine jug. It was typically somewhat smaller than the traditional pot, but larger than the jug. Like the pot, its cooking techniques would have varied, tolerating more than just boiling. It could have been used for both smaller quantities and items (such as cereals, legumes, and vegetables), and larger (such as meat). The hybrid pot evolved from the more functional and pragmatic aspects of the traditional cooking pot and the Philistine jug.

The rural dwellings were larger than their urban counterparts. Dwellings in urban environments (fortified settlements) were confined to inside the settlement's fortifications and thus had less space to utilize. Dwellings in rural environments (farmsteads) on the other hand did not have the same restrictions as their urban counterparts. However, an alternative argument is that the dwellings in rural environments accommodated extended families and thus required more living space, whereas dwellings in urban environments accommodated nuclear families and thus required less living space.

These observations lead to several possible conclusions. (1) Dwellings in fortified settlements were smaller in size yet their members prepared food with larger- to medium-size cooking vessels and possibly utilized cooking installations other than *tannaneer/tawabeen*. (2) Dwellings in farmsteads were larger yet their members prepared food with medium-to small-size cooking vessels, and utilized the *tannur/tabun* as the main cooking installation. (3) The size of the vessels used coupled with the size and type of settlement could possibly indicate that households in urban environments were less dependent upon their fields and herds and could have had access to more meat products, thus using larger types of pots, while households in rural environments were more dependent upon their herds and less likely to eat meat, thus using the smaller cooking pots. One can suggest that the size of cooking vessels does

not equate with the size of the household, rather it is indicative of the type of food that was prepared and, consequently, the household's gastronomical daily life.

The second aspect of household archaeology includes the consultation of complementary, secondary resources. Two methods of food preparation were looked at in depth, baking and cooking, from the perspective of the secondary resources most relevant to this study: ethnographic, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeological studies of present-day traditional societies in the Middle East, iconography, and nonbiblical ancient Near Eastern texts. These resources demonstrated how food was prepared by other ancient Near Eastern societies and how the ancients' modern counterparts prepare food still today. The ethnographic and ethnoarchaeological studies, as well as the art and literature of the ancient Near East, complement and clarify the archaeological data. They illustrate that different types of ovens were used, but the most common were the *tannur* and *tabun*, which were used to bake a variety of breads, more than likely inside the oven, as well as demonstrating that food can be prepared in a cooking pot placed over the top opening of a *tannur* or *tabun*. Some placed a flat metal sheet over the top opening of the oven after the bread was baked and would use it as a cooking surface. Others placed the pot inside the oven, cooked meat on skewers or wrapped in foil inside the oven. Small cooking pots, like a small hybrid or jug, could easily be placed inside the oven if there was a side opening. Larger pots, like the traditional pot and larger hybrid pots, could be placed over the top opening of a *tannur*/*tabun*.

The preference for stews made from various ingredients such as lentils, grains, meat, and vegetables is evident from the complementary resources. Special occasions, a successful hunt, or the sickness or death of an animal were legitimate grounds for the preparation and consumption of meat. When meat was prepared, it was more often than not cooked as a stew, as is evident from the numerous Yale culinary recipes. However, the implied frequency with which meat was prepared, and consequently consumed, in the Yale tablets is an inaccurate representation for those people in non-elite contexts. If the Judahite inhabitants of urban environments frequently used larger, traditional cooking pots that would have been ideal for cooking larger foodstuffs, such as meat, then perhaps the Yale tablets reflect their gastronomical reality more than is the case with Judahites in rural environments. While the frequency of meat consumed is debatable, porridge or gruel was shown to be both a common and elite dish and could easily have been cooked in both the hybrid pot or Philistine jug either over the top opening of the *tannur/tabun*, inside it, or on the rocks of a hearth.

Historically, much has been written on food as sacrifice and on kosher dietary laws in the Hebrew Bible. More recently, a few biblical scholars and Syro-Palestinian archaeologists have delved into the realm of diet, animal husbandry, and agriculture in ancient Israel and the Hebrew Bible. However,

few have researched the preparation of food in daily domestic contexts. For this research four passages within the Hebrew Bible that mention the preparation of food in domestic contexts, albeit secondarily, were examined: Gen. 18:1–1; Gen. 25:29–34; Judg. 6:19–21; and 2 Sam. 13:5–10. The archaeological data provided by the spatial analysis and its focus on technologies and techniques of food preparation, and the complementary, secondary resources, were applied to these passages by asking the following questions: (1) Who prepared the food? (2) For whom was it prepared? (3) When and where was the food prepared? (4) What food was prepared and how? And (5) Why was the food prepared?

The setting for all four of these passages is domestic, whether it be a permanent dwelling, like Tamar's and Gideon's, or mobile tents, like Abraham's and Jacob's. The royal dwellings in the Tamar narrative indicate a more elite setting; however, the meal she prepared was anything but elite, instead it was a traditional sickbed meal. In every example the meal prepared was part of the everyday domestic menu but fluctuated according to the circumstances: Abraham and household prepared an everyday meal of bread, milk, and butter, but also a rare meal of meat, even more so because it was a calf and not a sheep or a goat; the stew/porridge of red lentils prepared by Jacob was a common meal with an uncommon outcome; Gideon prepared in haste a more than generous meal of bread and everyday stew with the not-so-everyday ingredient of meat; and the dumplings prepared by Tamar were common but were also a sickbed meal. The meals prepared in haste (Gideon's and Abraham's) almost certainly included baked unleavened bread. Tamar also could have used unleavened bread since she was boiling the dough and not baking it, while the type of bread Jacob served Esau is not indicated.

Two of the four were meals of hospitality that included meat; one a kid stew (Gideon's), the other an even more precious calf (Abraham's). The immaturity of the animals support the theory that in the ancient and present-day Near East adult animals (over a year old) were used primarily for their secondary products (e.g. wool, milk, and dung) and were rarely eaten because of the household's dependency on them. In spite of this, hospitality norms suggest that meat was often offered to guests – in fact, the more prestigious the guest the more precious the animal. All the meals utilized a heat source, whether it was a permanent or semi-permanent *tannur/tabun* or a makeshift hearth, and cooking vessels. Meals of hospitality may not be considered “everyday” food in the sense that meat was offered; however, both expected and unexpected guests were common enough occurrences in the ancient Near East that cultural norms of hospitality developed and thus can be considered within the domestic realm of everyday life.

The type of cooking vessel used is dependent upon when the narrative was supposed to occur or the reality of the author/redactor. Whichever way, Iron Age cooking pots could have been utilized, either before or after the spread of the Philistine influence. Small amounts and smaller types of food to be boiled

could have been prepared in Philistine jugs; large types (meat) and larger amounts of food could have been prepared in large traditional cooking pots; while the hybrid pot could have been used to prepare both smaller and larger amounts and types of food.

The archaeological analysis suggests that smaller households in urban environments appear to have utilized larger cooking vessels while larger households in rural environments appear to have utilized smaller vessels. The question then arises, Why are there differences? A possible answer is that urban households were less dependent upon their herds and cooked larger types of food, like meat, more often than their rural cousins who were more dependent upon their herds. Out of the four narratives studied, the two involving Tamar and Gideon could have occurred in more urban environments. But Tamar did not cook any meat for the sickbed meal, so her narrative does not fit with the urban versus rural possibility unless the context of illness influenced the type of food prepared. Would she have prepared meat otherwise? Gideon, on the other hand, could fit the possibility since he did cook meat and lived in a known settlement, but whether or not that settlement could have been considered fortified or urban is uncertain. The narratives concerning Abraham and Jacob were rural because they were pastoral nomads, but then again, one served meat and the other did not. Therefore, it is doubtful that the urban versus rural question can be answered from the text alone; however, the context of the passages must be kept in mind. Both Abraham and Gideon served meat per the cultural norms of hospitality. Consequently, it is difficult to determine if the location of either Abraham or Gideon affected their choice of food. This is a brilliant example of the dissonance between Syro-Palestinian archaeology and the Hebrew Bible. One shows the answer to be positive (Syro-Palestinian archaeology), while the other either does not indicate an answer or shows it to be negative.

In the narratives, both men and women prepared the meals, demonstrating that cooking was not just “women’s work.” This contradicts the long-held belief that the culture represented in the Hebrew Bible was purely patriarchal. The luxury of gender-determinant roles is inconsistent, especially with regards to households in rural environments where every member of the household, if physically able, contributed to its survival. If anything predetermined the tasks within a household it was physical factors, such as reproduction and sheer physical strength that would have been the major contributors. In every passage, the person who prepared the food did not consume it but was forced to deal with a change in identity, which is one of these narratives’ principal functions: (1) Abraham learns the divine identity of his visitors and is told that his identity as stated in his covenant with Yahweh will be fulfilled. (2) Jacob shows his true identity as a trickster when he deceived Esau out of his identity as the firstborn. (3) Gideon realizes the divine identity of his visitor and thus changes his own identity. And finally, (4) Tamar is forcefully confronted with Amnon’s true, yet ugly identity as a rapist and is obliged forever to alter her

identity as a virgin and daughter of the king.

The meal is not the point of the four narratives studied. In effect, the preparation of food was of secondary importance, if not even lesser, to the narrative; yet, it functions as an essential part of the *setting* of the narrative. Studying the setting can provide valuable information on the historical and cultural context of narratives. In this case, in order to learn more about the gastronomical daily lives of ancient Judah during the Iron IIB–C periods (as is exemplified in the Hebrew Bible), household archaeology’s spatial analysis coupled with Goody’s food-preparation paradigm and complementary secondary resources were researched and applied to passages within the Hebrew Bible that portray food being prepared in domestic contexts. While the dissonance between Syro-Palestinian archaeology and the Hebrew Bible regarding the urban versus rural possibility cannot be resolved, what can be answered positively is the overall research question: Can archaeological remains and complementary secondary resources help us better understand the role that food played in domestic contexts in Iron IIB–C Judahite culture as portrayed in the Hebrew Bible? I believe the answer to that question is a categorical yes. This research has shown that the employment of Syro-Palestinian archaeology (including those that specifically focus on households) and complementary secondary resources (especially ancient Near Eastern texts and iconography, ethnographical, ethnoarchaeological, and experimental archaeological studies) are invaluable resources that help broaden and deepen our understanding of the greater ancient Near Eastern world – the same world of which ancient Judah and Israel were a part. Focusing on particular aspects of that world, like food in its various forms, only enhances our understanding of that world. Moreover, shifting our attention to aspects of daily life requires a further alteration: too often the lives and material culture of those left out of the texts and places of prestige (the battlefield, palace, and temple) are ignored when in fact it is their experience that most represents “daily life” in all its unremarkable dimensions. If we are truly interested in learning more about the daily lives of the ancients, then an adjustment of the spotlight is in order. Further attention to the stage of that daily life, the home, is merited. It is my hope that this research’s focus on one small, albeit important, aspect of that domestic stage has helped illuminate the daily life of the average ancient Judahite household.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Oded Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel* (Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997), 17.
2. For the unfortified sites that have been excavated in Israel, see David Amit, “Khirbet Jarish,” *ESI* 9 (1991): 157–8; D. Eitam, “Khirbet Khaddash – Royal Industry Village in Ancient Israel,” in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the 1st Annual Meeting – 1991* (ed. Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel; Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, 1992), 161–82; S. Riklin, “Bet Arye,” *ESI* 12 (1994): 39; K. Covello-Paran, “Khirbet Malta,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 106 (1996): 39–41; R. Gophna and Y. Porat, “The Land of Ephraim and Manasseh,” in *Judea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967–1968* (ed. M. Kochavi; Jerusalem: Carta, 1972), 196–242; H. Hizmi, “Horvat Eli,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 106 (1996): 74–5.
3. In Judah, see Amihai Mazar, David Amit, and Z. Ilan, “Hurvath Shilhah: An Iron Age Site in the Judean Desert,” in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus W. Van Beek* (ed. J. Seger; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 193–211; Nurit Feig, “New Discoveries in the Rephaim Valley, Jerusalem,” *PEQ* 128 (1996): 3–7; David Amit, “Farmsteads in Northern Judea (Betar Area),” *ESI* 10 (1992): 147–8. Avraham Faust, “The Farmstead in the Highlands of Iron Age II Israel,” in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel* (ed. A. Maeir, S. Dar, and Z. Safrai; BAR International Series, 1121; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), 91–104; idem, “The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during the Iron Age II,” *BASOR* 317 (2000): 17–39.
4. Thomas L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 410–11.
5. Bob Becking, “Chronology: A Skeleton without Flesh? Sennacherib’s Campaign as a Case Study,” in “*Like a Bird in a Cage*”: *The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE* (ed. L. Grabbe; JSOTSup, 363; European Seminar in Historical Methodology Series, 4; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003), 69.
6. Gösta W. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Paleolithic Period to*

Alexander's Conquest (JSOT Supplement Series, 146; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 714.

7. Ruth Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age* (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970), 291.
8. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine*, 681, 761. See also: Stefano Anastasio, *Atlas of Assyrian Pottery of the Iron Age* (Subartu, 24; Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010); Christian M.A. Engstrom, "The Neo-Assyrians at Tel el-Hessi: A Petrographic Study of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware," *BASOR* 333 (2004): 69–81; Nadav Na'aman and Yifat Thareani-Sussely, "Dating the Appearance of Assyrian Ware in Southern Palestine," *Tel Aviv* 33 (2006): 61–82; and Lily Singer-Avitz, "On Pottery in the Assyrian Style: A Rejoinder," *Tel Aviv* 34 (2007): 182–203.
9. Niels Peter Lemche, *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society* (Biblical Seminar Series; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 55.
10. Claus Westermann, *Genesis* (trans. D.E. Green; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987), 91. For a selection of commentaries on Genesis see: Lawrence A. Turner, *Genesis* (Readings; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000); Gordon Wenham, *Genesis 16–50* (Word Biblical Commentary, 2; Dallas: Word Books, 1994); Gerhard Von Rad, *Genesis* (Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1972); Hermann Gunkel, *Genesis* (trans. Mark Biddle; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1997); Derek Kinder, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries; Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 1967); E.A. Speiser, *Genesis: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (Anchor Bible; New York: Doubleday, 1964).
11. Diana Edelman, "Genesis: A Composition for Construing a Homeland of Imagination for Elite Scribal Circles or for Educating the Illiterate?," in *Writing the Bible* (ed. P. Davies and T. Römer; Equinox, forthcoming), 5–6.
12. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, xxi.
13. F.M. Cross, "The Themes of the Book of Kings and the Structure of the Deuteronomistic History," in idem, *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History and Religion of Israel* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 274–89. See also: Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Brief Socio-Literary Introduction* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 145; Thomas Römer, *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2005).
14. Robert P. Gordon, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Library of Biblical Interpretation; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1986), 21.
15. Cross, "The Themes of the Book of Kings," 274–89; Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*, 170.
16. For a selection of commentaries on Judges see: Tammi J. Schneider, *Judges* (Berit Olam; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000); Robert Boling, *Judges: An Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Anchor Bible; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975); Trent C. Butler, *Judges* (Word Biblical Commentary, 8; Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009); George F. Moore, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges* (2nd edn; International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908); and Susan Niditch, *Judges: A Commentary* (Old Testament Library; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008). For a selection of commentaries on 2 Samuel see: Anthony F. Campbell,

S.J., *2 Samuel* (Forms of the Old Testament Literature, 8; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005); Gordon, *I & II Samuel*; Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964); Henry Preserved Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (International Critical Commentary; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912); and Kyle P. McCarter, Jr., *2 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (Anchor Bible, 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984).

1. The ancient household and its food

1. For example, see the excavations at Lachish and Tell Halif: H. Lerner, "Animal Remains," in *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency (Lachish V)* (ed. Y. Aharoni; Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1975), 86–103; M.A. Zeder, "Faunal Remains from the 1976–83 Seasons at Tell Halif," *Lahav Research Project Report* (Mississippi State University, January 1984); Mark Laustrop, "Environment and Flora of Tell Halif," *Lahav Research Project 1977 Field Report* (Mississippi State University, 1978).
2. For example, see Oded Borowski's work on agriculture and animals in the Bible: Borowski, *Every Living Thing: Agriculture in Iron Age Israel* (Boston, MA: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002); "Eat, Drink and Be Merry: The Mediterranean Diet," *NEA* 67, no. 2 (2004): 96–107; and Nathan MacDonald's work on diet in the Hebrew Bible: *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); *The Diet of the Ancient Israelites* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).
3. Richard R. Wilk and William L. Rathje, "Household Archaeology," *American Behavioral Scientist* 25 (1982): 617–39.
4. Jack Goody, "Fission of Domestic Groups among the LoDagaba in the Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups," in *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups* (ed. J. Goody; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958), 53–91.
5. Donald R. Bender, "A Refinement of the Concept of Households: Families, Co-Residence, and Domestic Functions," *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 493–504.
6. Richard R. Wilk and Robert M. Netting, "Households: Changing Forms and Functions," in *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group* (ed. R.M. Netting, R. Wilk, and E. Arnould; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 1–28 (3).
7. Wilk and Netting, "Households: Changing Forms and Functions," 5.
8. Wilk and Rathje, "Household Archaeology," 618.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*, 620.
11. *Ibid.*, 622, 624, 627, 630.
- 12.

- Yigal Shiloh, "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City," *IEJ* 20 (1970): 180–90; "Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City," *IEJ* 28 (1978): 36–51; "The Casemate Wall, the Four-Room House, and Early Planning in the Israelite City," *BASOR* 268 (1987): 2–15.
13. Shiloh, "The Casemate Wall," 6.
14. Lawrence E. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel," *BASOR* 260 (1985): 17; Amihai Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000–586 B.C.E.* (New York: Doubleday, 1990), 488ff.
15. Shiloh, "The Four-Room House"; Israel Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1988), 258; Avraham Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interactions, Expansion, and Resistance* (London: Equinox, 2006), 78ff.
16. Frank Braemer, *L'architecture domestique du Levant à l'Age du Fer* (Paris: Editions Recherché sur les civilisations, 1982), 102–5.
17. Shiloh, "The Casemate Wall," 4.
18. J. David Schloen, *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East* (Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant, 2; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001), 136.
19. See: James Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space at Iron II Tell Halif: An Archaeology of Destruction* (Reports of the Lahav Research Project at Tell Halif, Israel Series, 2; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010); Schloen, *The House of the Father*; Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family."
20. Ehud Netzer, "Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age," in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From Prehistoric to the Persian Periods* (ed. A. Kempinski and R. Reich; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 193–201.
21. Oded Borowski is the only archaeologist I have found that supports Netzer's theory of an open courtyard on the second floor. See Oded Borowski, *Daily Life in Biblical Times* (Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 5; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003), 18.
22. A. Kempinski, *The Rise of Urban Culture: The Urbanization of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age* (Jerusalem: Israel Ethnographic Society, 1978), 36; Shiloh, "The Four Room House"; Finkelstein, *Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, 254–9.
23. Faust, *Israel's Ethnogenesis*, 81.
24. Amihai Mazar, "The Israelite Settlement in Canaan in Light of Archaeological Excavations," in *Biblical Archaeology Today—1984: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (ed. J. Amitai; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 61–71; Shmuel Givon, "The Three-Roomed House from Tel Harassim, Israel," *Levant* 31 (1999): 173–7; Israel Finkelstein, "Ethnicity and the Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan: Can the Real Israel Stand Up?," *Biblical Archaeologist* 59 (1996): 198–212.
25. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family." See also: John S. Holladay, Jr., "The

Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA–B (ca. 1000–750 BCE),” in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (ed. T. Levy; New Approaches in Anthropological Archaeology; London: Leicester University Press, 1998), 368–98.

26. Braemer, *L'architecture domestique*.
27. During the publication of this monograph a new edited volume on household archaeology in the southern Levant was released and has contributed greatly to the discussion. See: *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond* (ed. A. Yasur-Landau, R. Ebeling, and L.B. Mazow; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 50; Leiden: Brill, 2011).
28. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 14.
29. Stager, “The Archaeology of the Family.”
30. P.M. Daviau, *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine: Domestic Activity Areas and Artefact Distribution in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages* (JSOT/ASOR Monograph, 8; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993).
31. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*.
32. Wilk and Rathje, “Household Archaeology,” 618, 620–21.
33. James W. Hardin, “Understanding Domestic Space: An Example from Iron Age Tel Halif,” *NEA* 67, no. 2 (2004): 71–83.
34. Hardin defines activity areas as “locations where particular past human events or activities occurred that can be inferred from deposits in the archaeological record”; in “Understanding Domestic Space,” 74.
35. Hardin, “Understanding Domestic Space,” 74.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid.
38. For examples see: Penelope M. Allison, “Label for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households,” in *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (ed. P. Allison; London: Routledge, 1999), 58–77; Marilyn Y. Goldberg, “Spatial and Behavioral Negotiation in Classical Athenian City Houses,” in *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (ed. P. Allison; London: Routledge, 1999), 142–61; K.V. Flannery and M.C. Winter, “Analysing Household Activities,” in *The Early Mesoamerican Village* (ed. K.V. Flannery; New York: Academic, 1976), 34–44; Julia A. Hendon, “Feasting at Home: Community and House Solidarity among the Maya of Southeastern Mesoamerica,” in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires* (ed. T. Bray; New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003), 203–33; Stella Souvatzi, *A Social Archaeology of Households in Neolithic Greece: An Anthropological Approach* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2008); and Gregory D. Wilson, *The Archaeology of Everyday Life at Early Moundville* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2008).
- 39.

- Carol Meyers, *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 11–13.
40. Carol Meyers, “Engendering Syro-Palestinian Archaeology: Reasons and Resources,” *NEA* 66, no. 4 (2003): 185–97.
41. “Experimental Archaeology,” n.p., <http://farahsouth.cgu.edu/dictionary>.
42. Matthew Johnson, *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell 1999), 36.
43. Claude Levi-Strauss, *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology: I* (trans. J. and D. Weightman; London: Jonathan Cape, 1969); Ouzi Elyada, “Claude Levi-Strauss and the Hidden Structures of Myth,” in *Raw and Cooked* (ed. R. Director; Haifa: Haifa University Press, 2007), 23–8.
44. Margaret L. Arnott, ed. *Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits* (The Hague: Mouton, 1975).
45. Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: The Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966; 2002), xi–xv.
46. Marvin Harris, *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), 17, 72, 75, 79.
47. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*; idem, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*; idem, *Daily Life*; MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone*; and idem, *Diet of the Ancient Israelites*.
48. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 140–44. Brian Hesse, “Animal Use at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Bronze and Iron Age,” *BASOR* 264 (1986): 17–27.
49. Borowski, *Daily Life*, 65–8, 70.
50. MacDonald, *Diet of the Ancient Israelites*, 106–20, 116. See also, Rosemary Ellison, “Diet in Mesopotamia,” *Iraq* 45 (1983): 146–50.
51. Other studies on the anthropology of food include: Tamar Bray, ed., *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires* (New York: Kluwer, 2003); Michael Dietler and Brian Hayden, eds, *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001); Mary Douglas, *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); idem, “Deciphering a Meal,” *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 61–81; idem, *Food in the Social Order* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984); Peter Farb and George Armelagos, *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980); Chris Gosden and Jon G. Hather, eds, *The Prehistory of Food* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Polly Wiessner and Wulf Schiefelhovel, *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996).
52. Jack Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).
53. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, 44–8. Goody also notes on p. 48 that some may

choose to add a fifth category of disposal for the disposal of leftovers from both sacred and profane meals.

54. Valasia Isaakidou, "Cooking in the Labyrinth: Exploring 'Cuisine' at Bronze Age Knossos," in *Cooking Up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean* (ed. C. Mee and J. Renard; Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007), 5–24.

55. Goody, *Cooking, Cuisine and Class*, 44–9.

56. Ibid., 47.

57. For excavation reports on Megiddo see: Israel Finkelstein, "Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth-Shean in the 12th–11th Centuries BCE," *Tel Aviv* 23 (1996): 170–84; Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern, eds, *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2000); and Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern, eds, *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2002 Seasons* (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2006). For reports on Hazor see: Yigael Yadin, *Hazor I – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1958); idem, *Hazor II – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1960); idem, *Hazor III–IV – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958 – Plates* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1961); idem, *Hazor III–IV – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958 – Text* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989). Amnon Ben-Tor, ed., *Hazor V – The James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation, 1968* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997). For reports on Beth Shean see: Amihai Mazar, *Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989–1996, Volume I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006); Amihai Mazar and Robert Mullins, eds, *Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989–1996, Volume II: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007). For reports on Tel Rehov see: Amihai Mazar, "The 1997–1998 Excavations at Tel Rehov: Preliminary Report," *Israel Exploration Journal* 49 (1999): 1–42; idem, "Tel Rehov, 1997," *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 109 (1999): 42–3; idem, "Tel Rehov, 1998–2001," *ESI* 114 (2002): 38–40; idem, "Rehov, Tel," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 5 (ed. E. Stern; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2008), 2103–18. Even though Mazar is currently working on the final publication reports for the excavations, the author has personally excavated in dwellings at Tel Rehov (2001, 2003, 2005). For reports on Samaria see: Lawrence Stager, "Shemer's Estate," *BASOR* 277/278 (1990): 93–107. Ronald E. Tappy, *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria. I. Early Iron Age through the Ninth Century BCE* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 44; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2001); Ronald E. Tappy, *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria. II. The Eighth Century BCE* (Harvard Semitic Studies, 50; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1992). For reports on Beer-Sheba see: Yohanan Aharoni, *Beer-Sheba I: Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Seasons* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1973); Ze'ev Herzog, *Beer-Sheba II: The Early Iron Age Settlements* (Publication of the Institute of Archaeology, 7; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1984).

58. For a few of the excavation reports on Jerusalem see: Kathleen M. Kenyon, *Jerusalem*:

Excavating 3000 Years of History (London: Thames and Hudson, 1967); Eilat Mazar and Benjamin Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem* (ed. S. Gorodetsky; Qedem, 29; Jerusalem: The Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1989); Margaret L. Steiner, *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, vol. III: The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press/Continuum Press, 2001).

59. For surveys see: Israel Finkelstein and Yitzhak Magen, eds, *The Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Publications, 1993); Amos Kloner, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Southern Sector* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Publications, 2000); idem, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northeast Sector* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Publications, 2001); idem, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northwest Sector* (Jerusalem, Israel Antiquities Publications, 2003).
60. Albright's publications are numerous. See: William F. Albright, *The Archaeology of Palestine* (London: Penguin Books, 1960); idem, *The Biblical Period: From Abraham to Ezra* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).
61. Israel Finkelstein, "Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible," in *The Quest for the Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (ed. B. Schmidt; Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 9–20, 10.
62. Philip Davies, "Method and Madness: Some Remarks on Doing History with the Bible," *JBL* 114 (1995): 699–705; idem, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (London: Continuum, 2006); Niels P. Lemche, *Early Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1985); Niels P. Lemche and Thomas L. Thompson, "Did Biran Kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology," *JSOT* 19 (1994): 3–22; Niels P. Lemche, *The Israelites in History and Tradition* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998); Thomas L. Thompson, *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); idem, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East, 4; Leiden: Brill, 1992); idem, "A Neo-Albrightian School in History and Biblical Scholarship?," *JBL* 114 (1995): 683–98.
63. William G. Dever, "Archaeological Method in Israel: A Continuing Revolution," *BA* 43 (1980): 40–48. See also: idem, "The Impact of 'New Archaeology' on Syro-Palestinian Archaeology," *BASOR* 242 (1981): 15–29.
64. Amihai Mazar, "On Archaeology, Biblical History, and Biblical Archaeology," in *The Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel* (ed. B. Schmidt; Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 21–33 (32).
65. Israel Finkelstein, "The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View," *Levant* 28 (1996): 177–87 (177).
66. Amihai Mazar, "Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein," *Levant* 29 (1997): 157–67 (157).
67. For back and forth discussions on the chronology debate see: Elisabetta Boaretto, A. Jull, A. Gilboa, and I. Sharon, "Dating the Iron I–II Transition in Israel," *Radiocarbon* 47 (2005): 39–55; Israel Finkelstein and Eliezer Piastetzky, "The Iron I–IIA in the Highlands

and Beyond: 14C Anchors, Pottery Phases and the Shoshenq I Campaign,” *Levant* 30 (1998): 45–61; Israel Finkelstein, “Bible Archaeology or Archaeology of Palestine in the Iron Age? A Rejoinder,” *Levant* 30 (1998): 167–74; idem, “Tel Rehov and the Iron Age Chronology,” *Levant* 36 (2004): 181–8; idem, “A Low Chronology Update: Archaeology, History, and the Bible,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text, and Science* (ed. T. Levy and T. Higham; London: Equinox, 2005), 31–42; idem, “High or Low: Megiddo and Tel Rehov,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating* (ed. Levy and Higham), 302–9; idem, “Digging for the Truth”; idem, “King Solomon’s Golden Age: History or Myth?,” in *The Quest for Historical Israel* (ed. Schmidt), 107–16; Israel Finkelstein, Alexander Fantalkin, and Eliezer Piasetzky, “Three Snapshots of the Iron IIA: The Northern Valleys, the Southern Steppe, and Jerusalem,” in *Israel in Transition: From the Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (c. 1250–850 BCE)*, vol. 1 (ed. L. Grabbe; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2008), 32–44; idem, “Khirbet Qeiyafa: Absolute Chronology,” *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 84–8; Lily Singer-Avitz, “The Relative Chronology of Khirbet Qeiyafa,” *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 79–83; Hendrick J. Bruins et al., “C14 Dates from Tel Rehov: Iron Age Chronology, Pharaohs, and Hebrew Kings,” *Science* 300 (2003): 315–18; Constance Holden, “Dates Boost Conventional Wisdom about Solomon’s Splendor,” *Science* 300 (2003): 229–331; Amihai Mazar, “Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein,” *Levant* 29 (1997): 157–67; idem, “The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant: Its History, the Current Situation, and a Suggested Resolution,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating* (ed. Levy and Higham), 13–28; Amihai Mazar et al., “Ladder of Time at Tel Rehov: Stratigraphy, Archaeological Context, Pottery and Radiocarbon Dates,” in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating* (ed. Levy and Higham), 193–255; Amihai Mazar, “On Archaeology, Biblical History and Biblical Archaeology,” in *The Quest for Historical Israel* (ed. Schmidt), 21–33; idem, “The Search for David and Solomon: An Archaeological Perspective,” in *The Quest for Historical Israel* (ed. Schmidt), 117–39; Amihai Mazar and C.B. Ramsey, “C14 Dates and the Iron Age Chronology of Israel: A Response,” *Radiocarbon* 50 (2008): 159–80; Amihai Mazar, “A Response to Finkelstein and Piasetzky’s Criticism and ‘New Perspective’,” *Radiocarbon* 52 (2010): 1681–8.

68. Mazar, “The Search for David and Solomon.”
69. Finkelstein, “Digging for the Truth,” 14, 16. See also: Israel Finkelstein, “Archaeology, Bible and the History of the Levant in the Iron Age,” in *Archaeologies of the Middle East: Critical Perspectives* (ed. S. Pollock and R. Bernbeck; Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), 207–22 (2008).

70. Although what to call this approach differs with various archaeologists, the view is the same. See: William G. Dever, “Biblical Archaeology: Death and Rebirth,” in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Biblical Archaeology* (ed. A. Biran and J. Aviram; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993), 706–22; Finkelstein, “Archaeology, Bible”; idem, “Digging for the Truth”; Mazar, “On Archaeology, Biblical History, and Biblical Archaeology”; Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*.

71. For more on gender archaeology see: Elizabeth M. Brumfiel, “Methods in Feminist and Gender Archaeology: A Feeling for Difference – and Likeness,” in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (ed. S. M. Nelson; New York: AltaMira Press, 2006), 31–58; Margaret W. Conkey and Joan M. Gero, eds, *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory* (Social Archaeology Series; Oxford: Blackwell, 1991); Carol Meyers, “Engendering Syro-Palestinian Archaeology: Reasons and Resources,” *NEA* 66, no. 4 (2003): 185–97; Sarah Milledge Nelson, *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige* (Walnut

Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997); idem, ed., *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology* (New York: AltaMira Press, 2006); Marie Louise Stigg Sorensen, *Gender Archaeology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); and Janet D. Spector and Margaret W. Conkey, "Archaeology and the Study of Gender," in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* (ed. M.B. Schiffer; New York: Academic Press, 1984), 1–38.

72. Milledge Nelson, *Gender in Archaeology*, 17.

73. Ibid., 59.

2. Settlement classification in Iron Age Judah

1. Rivka Gonen, "Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period," *BASOR* 253 (1984): 61–73; James M. Weinstein, "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment," *BASOR* 241 (1981): 1–28.

2. John H. Hayes and J. Maxwell Miller, eds, *Israelite and Judean History* (Old Testament Library; London: SCM Press, 1977), 479; Siegfried Herrmann, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times* (rev. and enl. edn; trans. J. Bowden; London: SCM Press, 1981), 282.

3. Herrman, *A History of Israel*, 311; Ephraim Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 BC* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982), 253–4.

4. The term קִיר (*qîr*) is also used, but primarily in passages that describe settlements in Moab (2 Kgs 3:25; Isa. 5:1; 16:7, 11; Jer. 48:31, 36); see קִיר in BDB, 885.I will therefore omit it in my present survey of Hebrew terms.

5. "עִיר," BDB, 746; "תָּצַר," BDB, 900; "כָּפַר," BDB, 346–7; "חֹהַר," BDB, 499; "נִוָּה," BDB, 295; "מְגִדוֹל," BDB, 627; "בֵּיתָה," BDB, 153; "קָרְיָה," BDB, 108.

6. "עִיר," BDB, 746; "קָרְיָה," BDB, 900.

7. "עִיר," *TEHCOT*, 925–32; "תָּצַר," *TEHCOT*, 1128–9.

8. Please note that, unless noted otherwise, all verses from the Hebrew Bible are taken from the New Revised Standard Version.

9. "תָּצַר," BDB, 346–7.

10. "כָּפַר," *TEHCOT*, 455–6.

11. "כָּפַר," BDB, 499.

12. "חֹהַר," *TEHCOT*, 615.

13. "חֹת," BDB, 295.

14. "תָּצַר," *TEHCOT*, 406.

15. "תָּצַר," *TEHCOT*, 455–6; "כָּפַר," *TEHCOT*, 615; "חֹת," *TEHCOT*, 406.

16. My thanks to Professor Keith W. Whitelam for discussing this chapter and his thoughts on the co-dependency of towns and villages.
17. “פָּרְזָה,” BDB, 826; “פָּרְזָה,” *TEHCOT*, 1044.
18. “נִירָה,” BDB, 627.
19. Meyers, *Discovering Eve*, 11–12.
20. “נִירָה,” *TEHCOT*, 800.
21. Faust, *Israel’s Ethnogenesis*; Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*; idem, “The Great Transformation: The ‘Conquest’ of the Highland Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial State,” in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land* (ed. T. Levy; London: Leicester University Press, 1998), 349–65. Robert B. Coote and Keith W. Whitelam, “The Emergence of Israel: Social Transformation and State Formation Following the Decline in Late Bronze Age Trade,” in *Social Scientific Criticism of the Bible and Its Social World: The Israelite Monarchy* (ed. N. Gottwald; Semeia, 37; Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1986), 107–47.
22. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1957).
23. Adam Zertal, “‘To the Land of the Perizzites and the Giants’: On the Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh,” in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel* (ed. I. Finkelstein and N. Na’aman; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 47–69; idem, “The Heart of the Monarchy: Pattern of Settlement and Historical Considerations of the Israelite Kingdom of Samaria,” in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan* (ed. A. Mazar; JSOTSup, 331; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 38–64; Kloner, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Southern Sector*; idem, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northeast Sector*; idem, ed., *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northwest Sector*. Finkelstein and Magen, eds, *The Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin*.
24. Finkelstein and Na’aman, eds, *From Nomadism to Monarchy*.
25. Aharon Kempinski and Ronny Reich, eds, *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992).
26. Yigal Shiloh, “Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City,” *IEJ* 28 (1978): 36–51; idem, “The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas, and Population Density,” *BASOR* (1980): 25–35; idem, “The Casemate Wall.”
27. Mordechai Haiman, “The 10th Century B.C. Settlement of the Negev Highlands and Iron Age Rural Palestine,” in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel* (ed. A. Maeir, S. Dar, and Z. Safrai; BAR International Series, 1121; Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003), 71–89.
28. Shiloh, “The Four-Room House”; idem, “The Casemate Wall”; Stager, “The Archaeology of the Family”; L. Stager and Philip J. King, *Life in Biblical Israel* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001); Netzer, “Domestic Architecture in the

Iron Age”; Braemer, *L’architecture domestique*; Schloen, *The House of the Father*.

29. Shiloh, “Elements in the Development of Town-Planning”; C.H.J. De Geus, *Towns in Ancient Israel and the Southern Levant* (Palestina Antiqua, 10; Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters, 2003). Volkmar Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995).
30. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*; idem, *Daily Life*; idem, *Every Living Thing*.
31. Oded Lipschits, “Demographic Changes in Judah between the 7th and the 5th Centuries B.C.E.,” in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period* (ed. O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 323–76; idem, “The Rural Settlement in Judah in the 6th Century B.C.E.: A Rejoinder,” *PEQ* 136 (2004): 99–107.
32. Faust, “The Rural Community”; idem, “Abandonment, Urbanization, Resettlement and the Formation of the Israelite State,” *NEA* 66 (2003): 147–61; idem, “The Farmstead”; idem, “Judah in the Sixth Century B.C.E.: A Rural Perspective,” *PEQ* 135 (2003): 37–74; idem, “Salvage Excavations as a Source for Reconstructing Settlement History in Ancient Israel,” *PEQ* 137 (2005): 139–58.
33. De Geus, *Towns in Ancient Israel*.
34. Ibid., 161.
35. Ibid.
36. J.H. Kok Publishing House first published De Geus’s book, *Towns in Ancient Israel*, in Dutch in 1984. Kok Pharos Publishing House and Peters-Leuven published his subsequent English and German translations in 2003.
37. See D. Amit, “Farmsteads in Northern Judea (Betar Area), Survey,” *ESI* 10, no. 1 (1991), 158–60; idem, “El’azar,” *ESI* 9, no. 1 (1991), 147–8.
38. Faust, “The Rural Community”; idem, “The Farmstead.”
39. De Geus, *Towns in Ancient Israel*, 170.
40. Ibid., 172.
41. Ibid., 161.
42. Ibid., 171.
43. Fritz, *The City in Ancient Israel*.
44. Ibid., 117–18.
45. Ibid., 51.
46. Ibid., 69–70.
47. “Farmstead,” “Village,” www.dictionary.com.
- 48.

- Borowski, *Daily Life*.
49. Ibid., 13, 43–5.
50. Ibid., 13–15.
51. Ibid., 13.
52. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*.
53. Ibid., 463.
54. Meyers, “Engendering Syro-Palestinian Archaeology.”
55. Ze’ev Herzog, “Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age,” in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods* (ed. Aharon Kempinski; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 231–74.
56. Ibid., 231.
57. Ibid., 247–9.
58. Ibid., 247.
59. Ibid., 248.
60. Ibid., 248–9.
61. Ibid., 263–5.
62. Faust, “The Farmstead.”
63. Faust “The Rural Community.”
64. Ibid., 17–18.
65. Ibid., 31–2.
66. Ibid., 28.
67. Faust, “The Farmstead,” 96–7.
68. Ibid., 98.
69. Ibid., 98.
70. Faust, “The Rural Community,” 27.
71. Finkelstein, *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*, 21–2.
72. Ibid., 337–8.
73. Ibid., 29–31.

74. Ibid., 192–3.
75. Ibid., 193.
76. Ibid., 262–3.
77. Edward M. Moseley and Carol J. Mackey, “Peruvian Settlement Pattern Studies and Small Site Methodology,” *American Antiquity* 37, no. 1 (1972): 67–81.
78. See Gordon R. Willey, “Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru,” *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 155 (1953): 3–6; idem, “Problems concerning Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Maya Lowlands,” in *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World* (ed. Gordon R. Willey; Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 23; New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1956): 107–114.
79. R.P. Schaedel, “Incipient Urbanization and Secularization in Tiahuanacoid, Peru,” *American Antiquity* 31, no. 3 (1966): 338–44.
80. John H. Rowe, “Urban Settlement in Ancient Peru,” *Nawpa Pacha* 1 (1963): 1–27.
81. Moseley and Mackey, *Peruvian Settlement Pattern Studies*, 74.
82. Alfred L. Kroeber, “The Methods of Peruvian Archaeology,” *Nawpa Pacha* 1 (1963): 61–71.
83. Moseley and Mackey, *Peruvian Settlement Pattern Studies*, 76.
84. Ibid.
85. Ibid.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid., 78–9.

3. *A spatial analysis of Iron II Judahite settlements*

1. David Ussishkin, *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish 1973–1994* (Monograph Series, 22; 7 vols.; Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology Tel Aviv University, 2004), 25.
2. David Ussishkin, “Lachish,” in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. E. Stern; New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 3:897–911.
3. M. Kochavi, “Tel Malhata,” *NEAEHL*, 3:934–6.
4. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 1:83.
- 5.

Ibid., 1:76.

6. “The main settlement wall” is my designation (see [Chapter 1](#) on settlement classification), whereas Ussishkin describes it as “the Main City Wall.”
7. D. Ussishkin suggests that the same population may have resided in these domestic structures due to the consistency of their layout from Level IVB to Level III. See p. 445 in volume 2 of *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*.
8. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:445.
9. Ibid., 2:458.
10. Ibid., 2:458–9.
11. Ibid., 2:447.
12. Ibid., 2:454.
13. Although Ussishkin is referring to the same house in Level IVA, he mentions several times that the Level III houses continued with the same basic layout as Level IVB and IVA. See Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2: 443, 447, 454.
14. See the following discussions on the roofing issue: Douglas R. Clark, “Bricks, Sweat and Tears: The Human Investment in Constructing a ‘Four-Room’ House,” *NEA* 66 (2003): 34–43; Avraham Faust and Shlomo Bunimovitz, “The Four Room House: Embodying Iron Age Israelite Society” *NEA* 66 (2003): 22–31; Borowski, *Daily Life*, 18; and Netzer, “Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age.”
15. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:475. On page 453, Ussishkin readily admits the possibility of the dwellings possessing a second floor.
16. Ibid.
17. David Ben-Shlomo, Itzhaq Shai, Alexander Zuckerman, and Aren M. Maeir, “Cooking Identities: Aegean-Style Cooking Jugs and Cultural Interaction in Iron Age Philistia and Neighboring Regions,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 225–46; Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 4:1861–2.
18. Stager, “The Archaeology of the Family.”
19. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 93, 263.
20. “Area K8,” n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
21. Ben-Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 225–46.
22. Amiran, *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land*, 231.
23. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:471–2.
24. See the ethnoarchaeological discussion on baking in [Chapter 4](#).
- 25.

Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:470–71.

26. Ibid., 4:1857–8.

27. Ibid., 2:470.

28. The baking oven, or *tabun*, was located in Room Two. For more on the ethnoarchaeological discussion, see [Chapter 4](#).

29. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 4:1866–7.

30. Ibid., 2:481.

31. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 82.

32. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 4:2142. Although A. Vaughn and G. Barkay argue that the storage jars were “not developed by Hezekiah for a specialized function,” rather their function “is related to their typology ... and [is] part of a non-specialized type of storage jar limited to the late eighth century BCE.” See their discussion in Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 4:2170.

33. Ibid., 4:2036.

34. Ibid., 4:1860–61.

35. Ibid., 2:474.

36. Ibid., 2:489.

37. Ibid.

38. Ussishkin writes that the outside courtyards of the Lower House were located on the southern edge of Area S, therefore only part of them was excavated. Consequently, a complete picture of these courtyards is unavailable. See Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:454.

39. Ibid., 2:471, 486.

40. Bradley Parker, “Bread Ovens, Social Networks and Gendered Space” (unpublished manuscript, 2008), 21.

41. Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*, 2:458.

42. Ibid., 2:459.

43. The Level III analysis was of the eastern house (or wing) of this same lower dwelling.

44. Ussishkin, *The Renewed Excavations*, 2:459.

45. Ibid., 2:470.

46. Joe D. Seger, “Halif, Tel,” *NEAEHL*, 2:553–61; Paul F. Jacobs, *Taskmaster/Benefactor: (Adjusting to) Digital Media in the Field*, vol. XIV, no. 1 (Center for the Study of

- Architecture/Archaeology Newsletter), <http://csanet.org/newsletter/spring01>.
47. For a detailed description on the debate of Halif's biblical name see: Oded Borowski, "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif," *Biblical Archaeologist* 51 (1988): 21–7.
48. Seger, "Halif, Tel."
49. "Cobb Institute Research Activities," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/Research.html.
50. Joe D. Seger, "Lahav," *OEANE*, 3:325–6.
51. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 168.
52. *Ibid.*, 4.
53. See Hardin's spatial analysis on the northern structure in *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*.
54. According to Hardin, *formation processes* are "processes [both cultural and natural] that introduce variability and patterning into the archaeological record but are not associated with human behaviors of interest to the archaeologist." *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 53. Natural formation processes include water erosion, wind erosion, slope wash, floralturbation (disturbance caused by plants), and faunalturbation (disturbance caused by animals) (210).
55. "Field IV," n.p., www.cobbmsstate.edu/dgnew/fieldIV.
56. "Area L8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1.
57. "Locus L8005," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1.
58. "Locus L8013," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1.
59. Arlene Miller Rosen, "Micro Artifact Analysis at Tel Halif, 1992 Season," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
60. "Locus L85069," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV; "Cooking Pot L850659," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
61. Stager, "The Archaeology of the Family," 13.
62. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 93, 263.
63. Daviau writes that one of the differences between urban domestic structures in the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age is that in the Iron Age "where evidence for the care of animals within the domestic space is evident in the ground floor area of the '4-room' house'." See Daviau, *Houses and Their Furnishings*, 469.
64. "Field IV Fauna," n.p., www.cobbmsstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
65. "Area K8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
66. "Locus K8003P," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1; "Area K8."

67. "Cooking Pot IV.K8.101," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1.
68. Rosen, "Micro Artifact Analysis," www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
69. Ibid.
70. Daviau, *Houses and Their Furnishings*, 451–2 (emphasis mine).
71. "Area K8."
72. Ibid.
73. "K8/Locus K8015," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
74. "K9," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV; "Cooking Pot K911D," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
75. "K911D," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV/html.
76. "L9," www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1; "K9.162," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1. "K9," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
77. "Phytoliths," n.p., <http://farahsouth.cgu.edu/dictionary>.
78. Dolores R. Piperno, *Phytoliths: A Comprehensive Guide for Archaeologists and Paleocologists* (Oxford: AltaMira, 2006).
79. "K7," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/digmaster2.1.
80. Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, 4.
81. "Stratum VIA," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
82. Analysis of Halif's Field IV bone samples from the field's Iron IIB stratum was conducted but not from its Iron IIC stratum. Therefore, no indication of what type of animal the bones came from is available.
83. "I7007," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
84. Unfortunately, no drawing of the partially restored cooking pot was available.
85. "Cooking pot IV.I7.52/B#31," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
86. "71409#20," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
87. "L. I7014," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
88. "I8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
89. "I8016," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
90. "I8013," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.

91. "I8019," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
92. "I8016," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
93. "I8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
94. "I8017," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
95. "J8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
96. "J8016," and "J8017," n.p. www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
97. "J8010," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
98. "Cooking pot IV.J8.53/D#48," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
99. Ahlström, *The History of Ancient Palestine*, 681, 761.
100. Gershon Edelstein, "The Terraced Farm at Er-Ras" (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority Archives: I.E.F., 1980), 2.
101. Gershon Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," *Atiqot* 40 (2000): 39–63 (39).
102. Gershon Edelstein and Ianir Milevski, "The Rural Settlement of Jerusalem Re-Evaluated: Surveys and Excavations in the Reph'aim Valley and Mevasseret Yerushalayim," *PEQ* 126 (1994): 2–23 (9); Nurit Feig, "New Discoveries in the Rephaim Valley, Jerusalem," *PEQ* 128, no. 1 (1996): 3–7.
103. Feig, "New Discoveries in the Rephaim Valley," 7.
104. Personal correspondence with Avraham Faust (January 28, 2009). My thanks to him for this insight.
105. Feig argues in p. 3 of his article, "New Discoveries in the Rephaim Valley," that the walls that make up this second passageway are not part of the Iron II dwelling, rather are from the Ottoman period.
106. Gershon Edelstein and Yosef Gat, "Terraces around Jerusalem," *Israel – Land and Nature* 6 (1980): 72–78 (75).
107. Faust, "The Farmstead," 92; Edelstein and Milevski, "The Rural Settlement," 9.
108. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 45, 57, 61.
109. *Ibid.*, 61.
110. Gershon Edelstein and Shimon Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem's Rural Food Basket: The 'New' Archaeology Looks for an Urban Center's Agricultural Base," *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8 (1982): 46–54 (48).
111. Edelstein and Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem," 48–9.
- 112.

- Edelstein, "The Terraced Farm at E-Ras," 3–4.
113. Edelstein and Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem," 51.
114. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 61.
115. Edelstein and Feig interpret this room to be an indoor open courtyard: Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 44; Edelstein and Milevski, "The Rural Settlement of Jerusalem Re-Evaluated," 10; Edelstein and Gibson, "Ancient Jerusalem's Rural Food Basket," 49; Feig, "New Discoveries in the Rephaim Valley," 3; and Nurit Feig and Omar Rabu Abed, "Jerusalem, Khirbet er-Ras," *ESI* 15 (1996): 74–5 (74).
116. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 48–56, 61; Liora Kolska Horwitz, "Animal Remains from Er-Ras," excavation report, Israel Antiquities Authority, 1991, 3–4.
117. For more on the Philistine cooking jugs see: Ben-Shlomo et al., "Cooking Identities."
118. Horwitz, "Animal Remains from Er-Ras," 4–5.
119. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 52–3.
120. Both P. Jacobs and J. Hardin mention the possibility that there is an enclosed room at Tel Halif. See Hardin, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*, and Jacobs, "Tel Halif, 1983," *IEJ* 34 (1984): 197–200; idem, "Notes and News: Tell Halif, 1993," *IEJ* 44 (1994): 152–6. See Also: Mazar, Amit, and Ilan, "Hurvath Shilhah."
121. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 44, 54–5.
122. "K8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
123. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 48–55, 61.
124. David Ben-Shlomo et al., "Cooking Identities," 225.
125. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 45, 48–56, 61.
126. Ibid., 45.
127. P.M. Michele Daviau, *Excavations at Tall Jawa, Jordan: The Iron Age Town* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 440; Patty Jo Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran* (Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 57; Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1979), 119–20.
128. Edelstein, "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras," 45, 52.
129. Jon Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse at Ras Abu Ma'Aruf, Pisgat Ze'ev A," *'Atiqot* 25 (1994): 63–75 (63).
130. Ibid., 73.
131. Ibid., 67.
132. Ibid., 67.

133. Ibid., 73.
134. Faust, "The Farmstead," 93.
135. Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 65–66, 71.
136. Ibid., 65.
137. Ibid., 67.
138. Ibid., 63, 68.
139. Ibid., 63, 65.
140. "K8," n.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/fieldIV.
141. Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 66, 68.
142. Alison McQuitty, "Ovens in Town and Country," *Berytus: Archaeological Studies* 39 (1994): 53–76 (72). See also: Alison McQuitty, "An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study of Clay Ovens in Jordan," *Annual of the Department of Antiquities Amman* 28 (1984): 259–67; Eveline J. van der Steen, "The Iron Age Bread Ovens from Tell Deir 'Alla," *The Annual of the Department of Antiquities Jordan* 35 (1991): 135–53; Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*.
143. Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 66.
144. Ibid., 68, 71.
145. Ibid., 68.
146. Ben-Shlomo et al., "Cooking Identities," 226, 229.
147. Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 66.
148. Mary K. Dabney, Paul Halstead, and Patrick Thomas, "Mycenaean Feasting on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nema," *Hesperia* 73 (2004): 197–215.
149. Ben-Shlomo et al., "Cooking Identities," 226, 229, 236.
150. Ibid., 236.
151. Seligman, "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse," 71.
152. Ibid., 66–7.
153. Cynthia Shafer-Elliott, "Cooking," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology* (ed. Daniel Master et al.; New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming).
154. Ann E. Killebrew, "Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots in Canaan: A Typological, Technological, and Functional Study," in *Archaeology, History and Culture in Palestine*

and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock (ed. Tomis Kapitan; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 83–126 (107).

155. Ben-Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 236.
156. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 108–9.
157. Ben-Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 237.
158. Ibid., 237.
159. For more on cooking jugs, pots, and hybrids see: Ben-Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 225–46.
160. Over 300 references to bread are found within the Hebrew Bible. See [Chapter 4](#) for more on bread and baking in the ANE.
161. Ben Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 235 n. 60.
162. See: Faust, “The Farmstead”; idem, “The Rural Community”; Bunimovitz and Faust, “The Four Room House”; Shim’on Darr and Shim’on Applebaum, *Landscape and Pattern: An Archaeological Survey of Western Samaria 800 CE–636 CE* (International Series, 308; Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1986).
163. Bunimovitz and Faust, “The Four Room House,” 26.
164. Borowski, *Daily Life*, 74.
165. Ibid., 74.
166. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 205.

4. Broader perspectives: art, literature, and ethnography

1. Hardin, “Understanding Domestic Space,” 74.
2. Meyers, “Engendering Syro-Palestinian Archaeology,” 185–97.
3. “Experimental Archaeology,” n.p., <http://farahsouth.cgu.edu/dictionary>.
4. During the end of the Late Bronze and into the early Iron Age I, a new cooking installation, the hearth, was introduced with the arrival of the Philistines. Two types of hearths are found at Philistine sites (Tel Mique-Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Tel Qasile, and Tell es-Safi/Gath): the rectangular hearth set on a brick platform and lined with broken pieces of pottery; and the round hearth set into the floor and lined with pebbles. Cooking vessels and bread dough were placed directly on the hearth or at its side. The use of hearths did not continue into Iron Age II Philistia, which may indicate that the hearth was not as efficient as other types of ovens and therefore no longer used (Ben Shlomo et al., “Cooking Identities,” 236; S. Gur-Arieh, A.M. Maeir, and R. Shahack-Gross, “Soot Patterns on Cooking Vessels: A Short Note,” in *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loom Weights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighboring Regions: An*

International Archaeological Symposium Held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th 2010 [ed. V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka; Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2011], 349–55 [349]). Within the Hebrew Bible, several words for hearth are used albeit mostly in cultic contexts (מִקְדָּח in Lev. 6:9; יָקִיד in Isa. 30:14; תִּרְאֵל in Ezek. 43:15–16).

5. No information was found on what an “ancient” *saj* would have been made of. Possibly metal (for the elite?) and terracotta (for the commoners?). Perhaps the *saj* evolved from the ancient griddle or baking tray, which have been documented but not nearly to the extent of *tannaneer* or *tawabeen*. See Daviau, *Houses and Their Furnishings*, 79.
6. Van der Steen, “The Iron Age Bread Ovens,” 135–53; Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 161, 205.
7. McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 261.
8. McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 261; McQuitty, “Ovens in Town and Country,” 56; van der Steen, “The Iron Age Bread Ovens,” 135.
9. Van der Steen, “The Iron Age Bread Ovens,” 135.
10. McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 261.
11. Robert I. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology* (Technology and Change in History, 5; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 207 (emphasis mine).
12. Jean Bottero, “The Oldest Cuisine in the World,” in *Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (ed. J. Bottero; Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 43–64 (47).
13. Jean Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World: Cooking in Mesopotamia* (trans. T. Lavender Fagan; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 47.
14. Personal experience, 2005 excavation season at Tel Rehov, Israel.
15. Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 49.
16. McQuitty, “Ovens in Town and Country,” 55.
17. Ibid., 57.
18. Ibid., 56; McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 261; van der Steen, “The Iron Age Bread Ovens,” 135.
19. Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 49–50.
20. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, 209. Here Curtis only states that bread molds were used in ovens but not which type (i.e. the *tannur* or *tabun*).
21. Parker, “Bread Ovens,” 1–12.
22. Parker, “Bread Ovens,” 1, 12.
23. Ibid., 12.

24. Ibid., 12–13.
25. McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 261 (emphasis mine).
26. Watson also makes note in her ethnographic study that the hearths were “almost always located near the center of the room. No special provision is made for the escape of smoke, so that all things and persons who remain for long in the room are permeated with it, and the roof beams and ceiling are well blackened.” See Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 122.
27. McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 264–5.
28. Noor Mulder-Heymans, “Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology on Bread Ovens in Syria,” *Civilisations* 49 (2002): 2–22, 10–20; <http://civilisations.revues.org>.
29. Ibid., 13.
30. Ibid., 12.
31. Ibid., 10–20.
32. Mulder-Heymans does not mention from where the Druze villagers got the studio clay.
33. Ibid., 8.
34. Ibid., 9–10.
35. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, 205.
36. Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 4. See also: Jean Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995); Bottero, “The Oldest Cuisine in the World,” 43–64; and Jean Bottero, “The Oldest Feast,” in *Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (ed. Bottero), 65–83. Bottero writes that nothing is known of the origin of the tablets but, based on their written style and orthography he pinpoints the location to southern Babylonia. See Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 3.
37. Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 11–12.
38. Ibid., 13.
39. Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 47.
40. Ibid., 21–2.
41. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, 205.
42. Ibid., 127.
43. “Sebekhetepi Wooden Model,” n.p., www.britishmuseum.org/explore/highlights/highlight_objects/aes/m.
- 44.

Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 16.

45. See: van der Steen, “The Iron Age Bread Ovens,” 137; McQuitty, “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study,” 259; and idem, “Ovens in Town and Country,” 65.
46. Ben-Shlomo, et al., “Cooking Identities,” 235, and corresponding footnotes.
47. Mulder-Heymans, “Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology,” 9–10.
48. In a personal communication, Alexander Tsuckerman of the Tel es-Safi archaeological excavation notes that “Examples of such tabuns/tannurs (i.e. with a secondary opening on the side in archaeological excavations in Israel) are rare, but this is because they are mostly unpublished or poorly published, or usually poorly preserved.” However, a few have been documented but some appear to have been smelting furnaces, not domestic bread ovens: P.M. Fisher, *Tell Abu al-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley. II. The Middle and Late Bronze Ages* (Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean, 11; Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), 99 fig. 108–9; R.H. Smith, A.W. McNicoll, and J.B. Hennessy, “The 1981 Season at Pella of the Decapolis,” *BASOR* 249 (1983): 66 fig. 19 left; Amihai Mazar, “The Iron Age Dwellings at Tell Qasile,” in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager* (ed. J. David Schloen; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 319–35; B. Maisler, *The Excavations at Tell Qasile, Preliminary Report* (Israel Exploration Journal, 1; Jerusalem, 1950–51), 1:15 fig. 3, 61–76, 125–40, 194–218. My sincere thanks to Alex for this information.
49. Mulder-Heymans, “Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology,” 11, 13, 14.
50. Ibid., 9.
51. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 108–9.
52. Ibid., 208.
53. Ibid., 109.
54. William Bascom, “Yoruba Cooking,” *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 21, no. 2 (1951): 125–37 (128).
55. Ibid., 128.
56. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 91, 92, 95, 96.
57. Bottero, “The Oldest Cuisine in the World,” 48.
58. In his translations of the recipes, Bottero notes that “Anything that in the present state of our knowledge is not even approximately translatable I have simply transcribed, or I have cautiously added a question mark. I have enclosed in parentheses material that the text itself has lost through the ravages of time but is relatively safe to reconstruct.” Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 5.
59. Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 11.

60. Some scholars argue that the kosher dietary laws were a later post-exilic (Persian or Hellenistic) addition. If true, then it is possible that Iron Age Judahites and Israelites could have used the blood of the animal as a cooking ingredient. See: Erhard S. Gerstenberger, *Leviticus: A Commentary* (trans. Douglas W. Stott; Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993); Walter Brueggemann, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon and Christian Imagination* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003); and Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible*.
61. Bottero, *The Oldest Cuisine in the World*, 27. Also in: Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 9.
62. Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 9.
63. Ibid., 9.
64. Bottero, "The Oldest Cuisine in the World," 47.
65. Ibid., 57.
66. Ibid., 45.
67. Curtis, *Ancient Food Technology*, 170–71. Unfortunately, no illustrations of these reliefs were obtained.
68. Bottero, *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*, 14.
69. Ibid.
70. Van der Steen, "The Iron Age Bread Ovens," 135.

5. Home cooking in the Hebrew Bible

1. For a small taste of the material available on households and/or food preparation in other histories and archaeologies, see: Penelope M. Allison, "Labels for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (ed. P.M. Allison; London: Routledge, 1999), 58–77; Mary K. Dabney, Paul Halstead, and Patrick Thomas, "Mycenaean Feasting on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea," *Hesperia* 73, no. 2 (2004): 197–215; Marilyn Y. Goldberg, "Spatial and Behavioral Negotiation in Classical Athenian City Houses," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (ed. Allison), 142–61; Hendon, "Feasting at Home"; Karen Meadows, "The Appetites of Households in Early Roman Britain," in *The Archaeology of Household Activities* (ed. Allison), 100–20; and Stuart Tyson Smith, "Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners: Cooking, Food ways, and Agency on Ancient Egypt's Southern Frontier," in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires* (ed. T.L. Bray; New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003), 39–64.
2. A few of the many publications on kosher dietary laws and the sacrificial system include: Douglas, *Purity and Danger*; idem, "Leviticus as Literature," *JSOT* 59 (1999): 3–23; J.M. Grintz, "Do Not Eat on the Blood," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 8 (1970–71): 78–105; Menahem Haran, "Seething a Kid in Its Mother's Milk,"

Journal of Jewish Studies 30 (1979): 23–35; Walter J. Houston, *Purity and Monotheism: Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law* (JSOTSup, 140; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993); Gary A. Anderson, *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel: Studies in their Social and Political Importance* (Harvard Semitic Monographs, 41; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987); Menahem Haran, *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1985).

3.

See: Borowski, *Every Living Thing*; idem, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*; idem, *Daily Life*; idem, “Eat, Drink and Be Merry”; Carol Meyers, “The Roots of Restriction: Women in Early Israel,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 41, no. 3 (1978): 91–103; idem, “Procreation, Production, and Protection: Male–Female Balance in Early Israel,” *The Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 51, no. 4 (1983): 569–93; idem, *Discovering Eve*; idem, “Of Drums and Damsels: Women’s Performance in Ancient Israel,” *Biblical Archaeologist* 54, no. 1 (1991): 16–27; idem, “From Field Crops to Food: Attributing Gender and Meaning to Bread Production in Iron Age Israel,” in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the “Other” in Antiquity-Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers* (ed. D.R. Edwards and C.T. McCollough; Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007), 67–84; idem, “Material Remains and Social Relations: Women’s Culture in Agrarian Households of the Iron Age,” in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbours from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestina* (ed. W.G. Dever and S. Gitin; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003), 425–44; MacDonald, *Not Bread Alone*; idem, *The Diet of the Ancient Israelites*; Faust, “The Rural Community”; idem, “Abandonment, Urbanization, Resettlement”; idem, “The Farmstead”; Hardin, “Understanding Domestic Space”; idem, *Households and the Use of Domestic Space*.

4.

Borowski, *Daily Life*, 23.

5.

Von Rad, *Genesis*, 207.

6.

Borowski writes that milking was done twice a day (once in the morning and once in the evening) and that *leben* was left to curdle overnight. This will be addressed more fully in the section *What food was prepared and how?* See: Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 52, 55.

7.

See: Gunkel, *Genesis*, 192; and Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 45.

8.

Von Rad, *Genesis*, 204.

9.

Gordon Wenham, “Genesis,” in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (ed. J.D.G. Gunn and J.W. Rogerson; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2003), 32–71 (53).

10.

Gunkel, *Genesis*, 199.

11.

Westermann, *Genesis*, 135.

12.

Hermann Gunkel, *The Folktale in the Old Testament* (trans. Michael D. Rutter; ed. D. Gunn; Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1987), 93.

13.

Von Rad, *Genesis*, 173.

14.

Gunkel, *Genesis*, 173–6.

15. Bruce Vawter, *A Path through Genesis* (London; Sheed and Ward Stagbooks, 1976), 148.
16. J. Walton, V.H. Matthews, and M.W. Chavalas, *The IVP Bible Background Commentary: Old Testament* (Downers Grove, IL.: Inter Varsity Press, 2000), 50.
17. Watson, *Archaeological Ethnography*, 269.
18. Mulder-Heymans, "Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology," 8.
19. Parker, "Bread Ovens, Social Networks and Gendered Space," 21.
20. עֶשֶׂה, BDB, for Accordance and Strong's Hebrew Concordance software.
21. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 47.
22. Roland De Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (trans. J. McHugh; Biblical Resource; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997), 202; and Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 47.
23. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 77, 85 n. 69.
24. Ibid., 74.
25. In the summer of 2010 a small herd of cattle and camels that were owned by a local semi-nomadic Bedouin family were herding near and through the archaeological excavation site of Tel es-Safi/Gath.
26. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 58.
27. עֶשֶׂה in BDB and Hebrew Strong's for Accordance software.
28. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 52.
29. *ANET*, 19.
30. חֶמֶת in BDB and Hebrew Strong's for Accordance software.
31. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 55.
32. De Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 10.
33. Walton et al., *The IVP Bible Background Commentary*, 50.
34. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 47. For examples for cereal offerings see: Exod. 29:2, 40; Lev. 2; 5:11; 6:15, 20; Num. 6:15; 7:13. For the bread of the presence see: Lev. 24:5. For top-quality animals see: Lev. 3:1, 6; 22:21.
35. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 196.
36. The etymology of the names Jacob and Esau will be addressed below.
37. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 176.

38. “**עֶקֶב**,” BDB in Accordance software.
39. Von Rad, *Genesis*, 321.
40. For examples on the favored younger brother over the elder brother motif see: Isaac/Ishmael (Gen. 17:15–22; 21:12); Jacob/Esau (Gen. 25:19–34; 27:1–46); Joseph/ten brothers (Gen. 37:3–4; 34–35); David/seven brothers (1 Sam. 16:1–13).
41. For more on the wrongful application of the public and private realm model see: Meyers, *Discovering Eve*.
42. Yohanan Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979), 40–41.
43. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 176.
44. No archaeological remains from Beer-lahai-roi have been identified as of yet.
45. Walton et al., *The IVP Bible Background Commentary*, 58.
46. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 34, 37.
47. For examples see: Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 171, 177; Von Rad, *Genesis*, 264; Derek Kidner, *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary* (Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries; Leicester: Inter Varsity Press, 1967), 152; Speiser, *Genesis*, 194.
48. Wenham, *Genesis 16–50*, 178; Von Rad, *Genesis*, 266; Gunkel, *Genesis*, 291.
49. **אֶרֶם**, BDB for Accordance software.
50. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 95.
51. Taken from the online Matbukh encyclopedia on the kitchen in both Urdu (official language of Pakistan) and English. “Red Lentils,” n.p., www.punjabiandpunjab.com/Matbukh.
52. Mulder-Heymans, “Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology,” 9–10.
53. Apicius, 192, in Patrick Faas, *Around the Roman Table: Food and Feasting in Ancient Rome* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); online, www.press.uchicago.edu/Misc/Chicago.
54. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 89–90 n. 3.
55. J. Alberto Soggin, *Judges: A Commentary* (trans. J. Bowden; Old Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981), 111.
56. **גִּרְעִי**, BDB and Hebrew Strong’s Dictionary.
57. Schneider, *Judges*, 104.
- 58.

- Boling, *Judges*, 131.
59. Stephen F. Noll, “Mal’ak,” in *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* (ed. W.A. van Gemeren et al.; Carlisle: Paternoster, 1997), 2:941–2.
60. Butler, *Judges*, 200–201.
61. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible*, 335.
62. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible*, 263.
63. Borowski, *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*, 37, 57, 88.
64. *Ibid.*, 62–3 n. 9.
65. *Ibid.*, 111.
66. *Ibid.*, 63 n. 10, 111.
67. See: Gen. 35:4; Ezek. 6:13; Hos. 4:13; 1 Kgs 13:14; 1 Chron.10:12.
68. Borowski, *Every Living Thing*, 57.
69. *Ibid.*, 57.
70. מִנְחָה, BDB accessed on Accordance Bible software.
71. Soggin, *Judges*, 116.
72. מִרְקָה, BDB accessed on Accordance Bible software.
73. Soggin, *Judges*, 116.
74. Borowski, *Daily Life*, 134 n. 31. For the US to UK conversion see: www.metricconversions.org.
75. Moore, *Judges*, 187.
76. Schneider, *Judges*, 106.
77. Boling, *Judges*, 133.
78. Schneider, *Judges*, 106.
79. Niditch, *Judges*, 90.
80. Yairah Amit, *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing* (trans. J. Chipman; Biblical Interpretation, 38; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 255.
81. Butler, *Judges*, 203.
82. Walton et al., *The IVP Bible Background Commentary*, 254.

83. Soggin, *Judges*, 116–17.
84. R.N. Whybray, *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1 and 2* (Studies in Biblical Theology, second series 9; London: SCM Press, 1968).
85. A.A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (Word Biblical Commentary, 11; Dallas: Word Books, 1989), 174.
86. Gordon, *I & II Samuel*, 262
87. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 322.
88. See Adrien Janis Bledstein, “Tamar and the Coat of Many Colors,” in *Samuel and Kings: A Feminist Companion to the Bible* (Feminist Companion to the Bible; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 65–83; idem, “Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual Performed by a Woman in King David’s House?,” *Biblical Research* 37 (1992): 15–31; and Rlaine Neunfeldt, “Sexual Violence and Power: The Case of Tamar in 2 Samuel 13:1–22,” *Journal of Latin American Hermeneutics* (2007): 1–10.
89. BDB מְעִיל, בְּתֻנֶת and סֵם accessed on Accordance Bible software.
90. Their arguments are supported by their research into ancient Near Eastern ritual and cultic practices practiced by women and are beyond the scope of this study. For more on this see: Bledstein, “Tamar and the Coat of Many Colors,” 65–83; Bledstein, “Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual,” 15–31; and Neunfeldt, “Sexual Violence and Power,” 1–10.
91. Neunfeldt, “Sexual Violence and Power,” 5.
92. Bledstein, “Tamar and the Coat of Many Colors,” 73.
93. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 320.
94. Ibid., 322.
95. J.W. Wesselius, “Joab’s Death and the Central Theme of the Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 9–1 Kings 11),” *Vetus Testamentum* 40, no. 3 (1990): 336–51 (345).
96. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 323.
97. John M. Russell, “The MPs Do It Again: Two More Antiquities from the Top 30 Are Back in the Iraq Museum,” *ALA News* (November, 2003): 1–3 (2), www.archaeological.org/pdfs/papers.
98. If an indoor cooking installation was used, it is possible that the passage hints as to what time of year the narrative was to take place – the cooler months of autumn or winter.
99. Most English versions translate לֶכְבֵּית as cakes, while many scholars translate it as heart-shaped cakes. For examples see: Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 328; Borowski, “Eat, Drink and Be Merry,” 100; David Daube, “Absalom and the Ideal King,” *Vetus Testamentum* 48, no. 3 (1998): 315–25 (315); Neunfeldt, “Sexual Violence and Power,” 3; and Bledstein, “Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual,” 17.

James S. Ackerman, "Knowing Good and Evil: A Literary Analysis of the Court History in 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2," *JBL* 109, no. 1 (1990): 41–60 (45).

101. כְּשֶׁל, BDB accessed on Accordance Bible software.
102. קָצִי, BDB accessed on Accordance Bible software.
103. מִשְׁרָה, BDB and Hebrew Strong's accessed on Accordance Bible software. See also: George V. Wigram, *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance of the Old Testament* (3rd edn; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003), 767.
104. שָׂרָה, BDB and Strong's Hebrew dictionary accessed on Accordance Bible software.
105. מִשְׁאָרָה, BDB and Strong's Hebrew dictionary accessed on Accordance Bible software.
106. "Colander," n.p., www.merriam-webster.com and www.thefreedictionary.com.
107. See: Amihai Mazar, *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part 2* (Qedem, 20; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1985), 79, 203, 227; Lilly Gershuny, *Bronze Vessels from Israel and Jordan* (Parhistorische Bronzefunde; Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985), 15; Aren M. Maeir and Itzhack Shai, "Pre-LMLK Jars: A New Class of Iron Age IIA Storage Jars," *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003): 108–23 (110); and Yigael Yadin and Shulamit Geva, *Investigations at Beth-Shean: The Early Iron Age Strata* (Qedem, 23; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1986), 80, 83.
108. For examples of bowls with a perforated base or center, see the following: David Ussishkin, *Renewed Excavations at Lachish*. For perforated bowls see: 3:1163, 3:1175, 3:1294; for strainers see: 3:1737, 3:1739. Mazar and Mazar, *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount*, 88–9. Yadin and Geva, *Investigations at Beth-Shean*, 52, 54; and Trude Dothan, *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir el-Balah* (Qedem, 10; Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology of Hebrew University, 1979).
109. McCarter, *2 Samuel*, 322.
110. Ibid., 322.
111. Shimon Bar-Efrat, *Narrative Art in the Bible* (London: T. & T. Clark, 2004), 254.
112. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 323.
113. Bledstein, "Tamar and the Coat of Many Colors," 78.
114. Bledstein, "Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual," 31.
115. Neunfeldt, "Sexual Violence and Power," 3.
116. Bledstein, "Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual," 31.
117. Ibid., 20.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Ackerman, James S. "Knowing Good and Evil: A Literary Analysis of the Court History in 2 Samuel 9–20 and 1 Kings 1–2." *JBL* 109, no. 1 (1990): 41–60.
- Aharoni, Yohanan. *The Settlement of the Israelite Tribes in Upper Galilee*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1957.
- *Beer-Sheba I: Excavations at Tel Beer-Sheba, 1969–1971 Seasons*. Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1973.
- *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1979.
- Ahlström, W. Gösta. *The History of Ancient Palestine from the Paleolithic Period to Alexander's Conquest*. JSOTSup, 146. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- Albright, William F. *The Archaeology of Palestine*. London: Penguin Books, 1960.
- *The Biblical Period: From Abraham to Ezra*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963.
- Allison, Penelope M. "Label for Ladles: Interpreting the Material Culture of Roman Households." Pages 58–77 in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. Edited by P. Allison. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Amiran, Ruth. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land: From Its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970.
- Amit, David. "El'azar." *ESI* 9, no. 1 (1991): 147–148.
- "Farmsteads in Northern Judea (Betar Area), Survey." *Excavations and Surveys in Israel* 10, no. 1 (1991): 158–160.
- "Khirbet Jarish." *ESI* 9 (1991): 157–158.
- Amit, Yairah. *The Book of Judges: The Art of Editing*. Translated by Jonathan Chipman. Biblical Interpretation, 38. Leiden: Brill, 1999.
- Anderson, A.A. *2 Samuel*. Word Biblical Commentary, 11. Dallas: Word Books, 1989.
- Anderson, Gary A. *Sacrifices and Offerings in Ancient Israel: Studies in Their Social and Political Importance*. Harvard Semitic Monographs, 41. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987.
- Anastasio, Stefano. *Atlas of Assyrian Pottery of the Iron Age*. Subartu, 24. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2010.
- Arnott, Margaret L., ed. *Gastronomy: The Anthropology of Food and Food Habits*. The Hague: Mouton, 1975.
- Banning, Edward, and Ilse Kohler-Rollerfson. *Ethnoarchaeological Survey in the Beda Area, Southern Jordan*. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palastina-Vereins, 102. Wiesbaden: Kommissionsverlag Otto Harrassowitz, 1986.
- Bar-Efrat, Shimon. *Narrative Art in the Bible*. London: T. & T. Clark, 2004.
- Barile, Kerei S., and Jamie C. Brandon. *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- Barkay, Gabriel, and Andrew Vaughn. "Section C: The Royal and Official Seal Impressions

- from Lachish." Pages 2148–2171 in *The Renewed Archaeological Excavation at Lachish, 1973–1994*, vol. 4. Edited by D. Ussishkin. Monograph Series, 22. 7 vols. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology Tel Aviv University, 2004.
- Bascom, William. "Yoruba Cooking." *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute* 21, no. 2 (1951): 125–137.
- Beaudry, Mary C. "Archaeology and the Historical Household." *Man in the Northeast* 28 (1984): 27–38.
- "Doing Housework: New Approaches to the Archaeology of Households." Pages 254–262 in *Household Chores and Household Choices: Theorizing the Domestic Sphere in Historical Archaeology*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004.
- Becking, Bob. "Chronology: A Skeleton without Flesh? Sennacherib's Campaign as a Case Study." Pages 46–72 in *"Like a Bird in a Cage": The Invasion of Sennacherib in 701 BCE*. Edited by L. Grabbe. JSOTSup, 363. European Seminar in Historical Methodology Series, 4. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2003.
- Bender, Donald R. "A Refinement of the Concept of Households: Families, Co-Residence, and Domestic Functions." *American Anthropologist* 69 (1967): 493–504.
- Ben-Shlomo, David, Itzhaq Shai, Alexander Zuckerman, and Aren M. Maeir. "Cooking Identities: Aegean-Style Cooking Jugs and Cultural Interaction in Iron Age Philistia and Neighbouring Regions." *American Journal of Archaeology* 112 (2008): 225–246.
- Ben-Tor, Amnon, ed. *Hazor V – The James A. de Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Fifth Season of Excavation, 1968*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1997.
- Bledstein, Adrien Janis. "Tamar and the Coat of Many Colors." Pages 65–83 in *Samuel and Kings: A Feminist Companion to the Bible*. Edited by A. Brenner. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- "Was Habbirya a Healing Ritual Performed by a Woman in King David's House?," *Biblical Research* 37 (1992): 15–31.
- Boaretto, Elisabetta, A. Jull, A. Gilboa, and I. Sharon. "Dating the Iron I–II Transition in Israel." *Radiocarbon* 47 (2005): 39–55.
- Boling, Robert G. *Judges: Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1975.
- Borowski, Oded. "The Biblical Identity of Tel Halif." *Biblical Archaeologist* 51 (1988): 21–27.
- *Every Living Thing: Daily Use of Animals in Ancient Israel*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997.
- *Agriculture in Iron Age Israel*. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2002.
- *Daily Life in Biblical Times*. Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 5. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2003.
- "Eat, Drink, and Be Merry: The Mediterranean Diet." *NEA* 67, no. 2 (2004), 96–107.
- Bottero, Jean. *Textes Culinaires Mesopotamiens*. WinonaLake: Eisenbrauns, 1995.
- "The Oldest Cuisine in the World." Pages 43–64 in *Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Edited by Jean Bottero. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- "The Oldest Feast." Pages 65–83 in *Everyday Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Edited by Jean Bottero. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001.
- *The Oldest Cuisine in the World: Cooking in Mesopotamia*. Translated by T. Lavender Fagan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
- Braemer, Frank. *L'architecture domestique du Levant a l'Age du Fer*. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1982.
- Bray, Tamar, ed. *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Kluwer, 2003.
- Brenner, Athalya, and Jan Willem van Henten, eds. *Introduction to Food and Drink in the Biblical Worlds*. Semeia, 86. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001.

- Brown, Francis, S.R. Driver, and Charles A. Briggs. *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 1999.
- Brueggemann, Walter. *Genesis*. Interpretation. Atlanta: John Knox Press, 1982.
- *An Introduction to the Old Testament: The Canon and Christian Imagination*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003.
- Bruins, Hendrick J. et al. "C14 Dates from Tel Rehov: Iron Age Chronology, Pharaohs, and Hebrew Kings." *Science* 300 (2003): 315–318.
- Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. "Methods in Feminist Gender Archaeology: A Feeling for Difference – and Likeness." Pages 31–38 in *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. Edited by S. Milledge Nelson. New York: AltaMira Press, 2006.
- Butler, Trent C. *Judges*. Word Biblical Commentary, 8. Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 2009.
- Campbell, Anthony F. 2 *Samuel*. Forms of Old Testament Literature, 8. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Clark, Douglas R. "Bricks, Sweat and Tears: The Human Investment in Constructing a 'Four-Room' House." *NEA* 66 (2003): 34–43.
- Conkey, Margaret W., and Joan M. Gero, eds. *Engendering Archaeology: Women and Prehistory*. Social Archaeology Series. Oxford: Blackwell, 1991.
- Coote, Robert B., and Keith W. Whitelam. "The Emergence of Israel: Social Transformation and State Formation Following the Decline in Late Bronze Age Trade." Pages 107–147 in *Social Scientific Criticism of the Bible and Its Social World: The Israelite Monarchy*. Edited by N. Gottwald. Semina, 37. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1986.
- Covello-Paran, Karen. "Khirbet Malta." *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 106 (1996): 39–41.
- Cross, F.M. *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic: Essays in the History and Religion of Israel*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973.
- Curtis, Robert I. *Ancient Food Technology*. Technology and Change in History Series, 5. Leiden: Brill, 2001.
- Dabney, Mary K., Paul Halstead, and Patrick Thomas. "Mycenaean Feasting on Tsoungiza at Ancient Nemea." *Hesperia* 73, no. 2 (2004): 197–215.
- Daube, David. "Absalom and the Ideal King." *Vetus Testamentum* 48, no. 3 (1998): 315–325.
- Daviau, P.M. Michele. *Houses and Their Furnishings in Bronze Age Palestine: Domestic Activity Areas and Artefact Distribution in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. JSOT/ASOR Monograph Series, 8. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- *Excavations at Tall Jawa, Jordan: The Iron Age Town*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Davies, Philip. "Method and Madness: Some Remarks on Doing History with the Bible." *JBL* 114 (1995): 699–705.
- *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*. London: Continuum, 2006.
- De Geus, C.H.J. *Towns in Ancient Israel and in the Southern Levant*. Palestina Antiqua, 10. Leuven: Uitgeverij Peters, 2003.
- De Vaux, Roland. *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions*. Translated by John McHugh. Biblical Resource Series. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1997.
- Dever, William G. "Archaeological Method in Israel: A Continuing Revolution." *Biblical Archaeologist* 43 (1980): 40–48.
- "The Impact of 'New Archaeology' on Syro-Palestinian Archaeology." *BASOR* 242 (1981): 15–29.
- "Biblical Archaeology: Death and Rebirth." Pages 706–722 in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: Proceedings of the 2nd International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*. Edited by Avraham Biran and Joseph Aviram. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.
- Dietler, Michael and Brian Hayden, eds. *Feasts: Archaeological and Ethnographic Perspectives on Food, Politics, and Power*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001.
- Dothan, Trude. *Excavations at the Cemetery of Deir El-Balah*. Qedem, 10. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1979.

- Douglas, Mary. "Deciphering a Meal." *Daedalus* 101 (1972): 61–81.
- *Food in the Social Order*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984.
- *Constructive Drinking: Perspectives on Drink from Anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- "Leviticus as Literature." *JSOT* 59 (1999): 3–23.
- *Purity and Danger: The Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*. London: Routledge, 1966; repr. 2002.
- Edelman, Diana. "Genesis: A Composition for Construing a Homeland of Imagination for Elite Scribal Circles or for Educating the Illiterate?" In *Writing the Bible*. Edited by P. Davies and T. Römer; Equinox, forthcoming.
- Edelstein, Gershon. "The Terraced Farm at Er-Ras." Excavation Report from the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives. Jerusalem: 1980.
- "A Terraced Farm at Er-Ras." *Atiqot* 40 (2000): 39–63.
- Edelstein, Gershon, and Ianir Milevski. "The Rural Settlement of Jerusalem Re-evaluated: Surveys and Excavations in the Reph'aim Valley and Mevasseret Yerushalayim." *PEQ* 126 (1994): 2–23.
- Edelstein, Gershon, and Shimon Gibson. "Ancient Jerusalem's Rural Food Basket: The 'New' Archaeology Looks for an Urban Center's Agricultural Base." *Biblical Archaeology Review* 8 (1982): 46–54.
- Edelstein, Gershon, and Yosef Gat. "Terraces around Jerusalem." *Israel – Land and Nature* 6 (1980): 72–78.
- Eitam, David. "Khirbet Khaddash Edelstein, Gershon Royal Industry Village in Ancient Israel." Pages 161–182 in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies: Proceedings of the 1st Annual Meeting* – 1991. Edited by Z.H. Erlich and Y. Eshel. Jerusalem: Reuven Mas, 1992.
- Elyada, Ouzi. "Claude Levi-Strauss and the Hidden Structures of Myth." Pages 23–28 in *Raw and Cooked*. Edited by R. Director. Haifa: Haifa University Press, 2007.
- Ellison, Rosemary. "Diet in Mesopotamia." *Iraq* 45 (1983): 146–150.
- "Methods of Food Preparation in Mesopotamia (c. 3000–600 BC)." *The Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 27 (1984): 89–98.
- Engstrom, Christian M.A. "The Neo-Assyrians at Tel el-Hessi: A Petrographic Study of Imitation Assyrian Palace Ware." *BASOR* 333 (2004): 69–81.
- Faas, Patrick. *Around the Roman Table: Food and Feasting in Ancient Rome*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.
- Farb, Peter, and George Armelagos. *Consuming Passions: The Anthropology of Eating*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1980.
- Faust, Abraham. "The Rural Community in Ancient Israel during Iron Age II." *BASOR* 317 (2000): 17–39.
- "Abandonment, Urbanization, Resettlement and the Formation of the Israelite State." *NEA* 66 (2003): 147–161.
- "The Farmstead in the Highlands of Iron Age II Israel." Pages 91–104 in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*. Edited by Aren Maeir, Shimon Dar, and Ze'ev Safrai. BAR International Series, 1121. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- "Judah in the Sixth Century B.C.E.: A Rural Perspective." *PEQ* 135 (2003): 37–74.
- "Salvage Excavations as a Source for Reconstructing Settlement History in Ancient Israel." *PEQ* 137 (2005): 139–158.
- *Israel's Ethnogenesis: Settlement, Interaction, Expansion, and Resistance*. London: Equinox, 2006.
- Faust, Abraham, and Shlomo Bunimovitz. "The Four Room House: Embodying Iron Age Israelite Society." *NEA* 66 (2003): 22–31.
- Feig, Nurit. "New Discoveries in the Rehpa'im Valley, Jerusalem." *PEQ* 128 (1996): 3–7.
- Feig, Nurit, and Omar Rabu Abed. "Jerusalem, Khirbet er-Ras." *ESI* 15 (1996): 74–75.
- Finkelstein, Israel. *The Archaeology of the Israelite Settlement*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration

- Society, 1988.
- “The Archaeology of the United Monarchy: An Alternative View.” *Levant* 28 (1996): 177–187.
 - “Ethnicity and the Origin of the Iron I Settlers in the Highlands of Canaan: Can the Real Israel Stand Up?” *Biblical Archaeologist* 59 (1996): 198–212.
 - “Stratigraphy and Chronology of Megiddo and Beth-Shean in the 12th–11th Centuries BCE.” *Tel Aviv* 23 (1996): 170–184.
 - “Bible Archaeology or Archaeology of Palestine in the Iron Age? A Rejoinder.” *Levant* 30 (1998): 167–174.
 - “The Great Transformation: The ‘Conquest’ of the Highland Frontiers and the Rise of the Territorial State.” Pages 349–365 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Edited by T. Levy. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.
 - “Tel Rehov and the Iron Age Chronology.” *Levant* 36 (2004): 181–188.
 - “Archaeology, Bible and the History of the Levant in the Iron Age.” Pages 207–222 in *Archaeologies of the Middle East: Critical Perspectives*. Edited by Susan Pollock and Reinhard Bernbeck. Oxford: Blackwell, 2005.
 - Finkelstein, Israel “High or Low: Megiddo and Tel Rehov.” Pages 302–309 in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text, and Science*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham. London: Equinox, 2005.
 - Finkelstein, Israel “A Low Chronology Update: Archaeology, History, and the Bible.” Pages 31–42 in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text, and Science*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham. London: Equinox, 2005.
 - Finkelstein, Israel “Digging for the Truth: Archaeology and the Bible.” Pages 9–20 in *The Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Edited by Brian Schmidt. Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.
 - Finkelstein, Israel “King Solomon’s Golden Age: History or Myth?” Pages 107–116 in *The Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Edited by Brian Schmidt. Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.
 - Finkelstein, Israel “Khirbet Qeiyafa: Absolute Chronology.” *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 84–88.
 - Finkelstein, Israel, Alexander Fantalkin, and Eliezer Piasetzky. “Three Snapshots of the Iron IIA: The Northern Valleys, the Southern Steppe, and Jerusalem.” Pages 32–44 in *Israel in Transition: From the Late Bronze II to Iron IIA (c. 1250–850 BCE)*, vol. 1. Edited by Lester Grabbe. New York: T. & T. Clark, 2008.
 - Finkelstein, Israel, and Yitzhak Magen, eds. *The Archaeological Survey of the Hill Country of Benjamin*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1993.
 - Finkelstein, Israel, and Nadav Na’aman, eds. *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.
 - Finkelstein, Israel, and Eliezer Piasetzky. “The Iron I–IIA in the Highlands and Beyond: 14C Anchors, Pottery Phases and the Shoshenq I Campaign.” *Levant* 30 (1998): 45–61.
 - Finkelstein, Israel, David Ussishkin, and Baruch Halpern, eds. *Megiddo III: The 1992–1996 Seasons*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2000.
 - Finkelstein, Israel *Megiddo IV: The 1998–2002 Seasons*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2006.
 - Fisher, P.M. *Tell Abu al-Kharaz in the Jordan Valley. II. The Middle and Late Bronze Ages*. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean Series, 11. Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006.
 - Flannery, K.V., and M.C. Winter. “Analysing Household Activities.” Pages 34–44 in *The Early Mesoamerican Village*. Edited by K.V. Flannery. New York: Academic, 1976.
 - Fritz, Volkmar. *The City in Ancient Israel*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995.
 - Gosden, Chris, and Jon G. Hather, eds. *The Prehistory of Food*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

- Givon, Shmuel. "The Three-Roomed House from Tel Harassim, Israel." *Levant* 31 (1999): 173–177.
- Gershuny, Lilly. *Bronze Vessels from Israel and Jordan*. Parhistorische Bronzefunde. Munich: C.H. Beck, 1985.
- Gerstenberger, Erhard D. *Leviticus: A Commentary*. Translated by Douglas W. Stott. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1993.
- Goldberg, Marilyn Y. "Spatial and Behavioural Negotiation in Classical Athenian City Houses." Pages 142–161 in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. Edited by P. Allison. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Gonen, Rivka. "Urban Canaan in the Late Bronze Period." *BASOR* 253 (1984): 61–73.
- Goody, Jack. "Fission of Domestic Groups among the LoDagaba in the Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups." Pages 53–91 in *The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups*. Edited by Jack Goody. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958.
- *Production and Reproduction: A Comparative Study of the Domestic Domain*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology, 17. Edited by J. Goody. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976.
- *Cooking, Cuisine, and Class: A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Themes in Social Sciences Series. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Gophna, Ram, and Yosef Porat. "The Land of Ephraim and Manasseh." Pages 196–242 in *Judea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967–1968*. Edited by M. Kochavi. Jerusalem: Carta, 1972.
- Gordon, Robert P. *I & II Samuel: A Commentary*. Library of Biblical Interpretation. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1986.
- Gottwald, Norman. *The Hebrew Bible: A Brief Socio-Literary Introduction*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009.
- Grintz, J.M. "Do Not Eat on the Blood." *The Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 8 (1970–1971): 78–105.
- Gunkel, Hermann. *The Folktale in the Old Testament*. Translated by Michael D. Rutter. Edited by David M. Gunn. Historic Texts and Interpreters in Biblical Scholarship. Sheffield: Almond Press, 1997.
- *Genesis*. 3rd edn. Translated by Mark E. Biddle. Mercer Library of Biblical Studies. Atlanta: Mercer University Press, 1997.
- Gur-Arieh, S., A.M. Maeir, and R. Shahack-Gross. "Soot Patterns on Cooking Vessels: A Short Note." Pages 349–355 in *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loom Weights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighboring Regions: An International Archaeological Symposium Held in Nicosia, November 6th–7th 2010*. Edited by V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation, 2011.
- Haiman, Morechai. "The 10th Century B.C. Settlement of the Negev Highlands and Iron Age Rural Palestine." Pages 71–89 in *The Rural Landscape of Ancient Israel*. Edited by Aren Maeir, Shimon Dar, and Ze'ev Safrai. BAR International Series, 1121. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2003.
- Haran, Menahem. "Seething a Kid in Its Mothers Milk." *Journal of Jewish Studies* 30 (1979): 23–35.
- *Temples and Temple-Service in Ancient Israel*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1985.
- Hardin, James W. "Understanding Domestic Space: An Example from Iron Age Tel Halif," *NEA* 67, no. 2 (2004): 71–83.
- *Households and the Use of Domestic Space at Iron II Tell Halif: An Archaeology of Destruction*. Reports of the Lahav Research Project at Tell Halif, Israel Series, 2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010.
- Harris, Marvin. *Good to Eat: Riddles of Food and Culture*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1986.
- Hayes, John H., and J. Maxwell Miller. *Israelite and Judean History*. Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1977.
- Hendon, Julia A. "Feasting at Home: Community and House Solidarity among the Maya of

- Southeastern Mesoamerica." Pages 203–233 in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. Edited by T. Bray. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003.
- Herrmann, Siegfried. *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*. Rev. and enl. edn. Translated by J. Bowden. London: SCM Press, 1981.
- Hertzberg, Hans Wilhelm. *I & II Samuel: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1964.
- Herzog, Ze'ev. *Beer-Sheba II: The Early Iron Age Settlements*. Publication of the Institute of Archaeology, 7. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1984.
- "Settlement and Fortification Planning in the Iron Age." Pages 231–274 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Edited by A. Kempinski and R. Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992.
- Hesse, Brian. "Animal Use at Tel Miqne-Ekron in the Bronze and Iron Age." *BASOR* 264 (1986): 17–27.
- Hizmi, Hanania. "Horvat Eli." *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 106 (1996): 74–75.
- Hodder, Ian. *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- *Theory and Practice in Archaeology*. Interdisciplinary Studies in the Material Construction of Social Worlds. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Holden, Constance. "Dates Boost Conventional Wisdom about Solomon's Splendor." *Science* 300 (2003): 229–331.
- Holladay, John S., {Jr.} "The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah: Political and Economic Centralization in the Iron IIA–B (ca. 1000–750 BCE)." Pages 368–398 in *The Archaeology of Society in the Holy Land*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy. New Approaches in Anthropological Archaeology. London: Leicester University Press, 1998.
- Houston, Walter J. *Purity and Monotheism: Clean and Unclean Animals in Biblical Law*. JSOTSup, 140. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993.
- Isaakidou, Valasia. "Cooking in the Labyrinth: Exploring 'Cuisine' at Bronze Age Knossos." Pages 5–24 in *Cooking up the Past: Food and Culinary Practices in the Neolithic and Bronze Age Aegean*. Edited by C. Mee and J. Renard. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007.
- Jacobs, Paul. "Tel Halif, 1983." *IEJ* 34 (1984): 197–200.
- "Notes and News: Tel Halif, 1993." *IEJ* 44 (1994): 152–156.
- "Taskmaster/Benefactor: (Adjusting to) Digital Media in the Field." *Center for the Study of Architecture/Archaeology Newsletter* 14, no. 1 (Spring 2001): n.p., <http://csanet.org/newsletter>.
- Johnson, Matthew. *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1999.
- Kempinski, Aharon. *The Rise of Urban Culture: The Urbanization of Palestine in the Early Bronze Age*. Jerusalem: Israel Ethnographic Society, 1978.
- Kempinski, Aharon, and Ronny Reich, eds. *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Periods*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992.
- Kenyon, Kathleen M. *Jerusalem: Excavating 3000 Years of History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1967.
- Kidner, Derek. *Genesis: An Introduction and Commentary*. Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries. Leicester: InterVarsity Press, 1967.
- Killebrew, Anne E. "Late Bronze and Iron I Cooking Pots in Canaan: A Typological, Technological, and Functional Study." Pages 83–107 in *Archaeology, History and Culture in Palestine and the Near East: Essays in Memory of Albert E. Glock*. Edited by T. Kapitán. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Kloner, Amos, ed. *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Southern Sector*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2000.
- *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northeast Sector*. Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2001.
- *The Archaeological Survey of Jerusalem: The Northwest Sector*. Jerusalem: Israel

- Antiquities Authority, 2003.
- Kochavi, Moshe. "Tel Malhata." Pages 934–936 in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3. Edited by E. Stern. 5 vols. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.
- Kolska Horwitz, Liora. "Animal Remains from Er-Ras." Excavation Report from the Israel Antiquities Authority Archives. Jerusalem, 1991: 3–4.
- Kroeber, Alfred L. "The Methods of Peruvian Archaeology." *Nawpa Pacha* 1 (1963): 61–71.
- Laustrop, Mark. "Environment and Flora of Tell Halif." *Lahav Research Project 1977 Field Report*. Mississippi State University, 1978.
- Lemche, Niels Peter. *Early Israel*. Leiden: Brill, 1985.
- *Ancient Israel: A New History of Israelite Society*. Biblical Seminar Series. Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988.
- *The Israelites in History and Tradition*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998.
- Lemche, Niels Peter, and Thomas L. Thompson. "Did Biran Kill David? The Bible in the Light of Archaeology." *JSOT* 19 (1994): 3–22.
- Lernau, H. "Animal Remains." Pages 86–103 in *Investigations at Lachish: The Sanctuary and the Residency (Lachish V)*. Edited by Y. Aharoni. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, 1975.
- Levi-Strauss, Claude. *The Raw and the Cooked: Introduction to a Science of Mythology: I*. Translated by J. and D. Weightman. London: Jonathan Cape, 1969.
- Lipschits, Oded. "Demographic Changes in Judah between the 7th and the 5th Centuries B.C.E." Pages 323–376 in *Judah and the Judeans in the Neo-Babylonian Period*. Edited by Oded Lipschits and Joseph Blenkinsopp. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003.
- "The Rural Settlement in Judah in the 6th Century B.C.E.: A Rejoinder." *PEQ* 136 (2004): 99–107.
- Lutfiyya, Abdulla M. Baytin. *A Jordanian Village: A Study of Social Institutions and Social Change in a Folk Community*. London: Mouton, 1966.
- MacDonald, Nathan. *The Diet of Ancient Israelites*. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008.
- *Not Bread Alone: The Uses of Food in the Old Testament*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Maeir, Aren M., and Itzhack Shai. "Pre-LMLK Jars: A New Class of Iron Age IIA Storage Jars." *Tel Aviv* 30 (2003): 108–123.
- Maisler (Mazar), Benjamin. *The Excavations at Tell Qasile, Preliminary Report*. Israel Exploration Journal Series, 1. Jerusalem, 1950–1951.
- Mazar, Amihai. *Excavations at Tell Qasile, Part 2*. Qedem, 20. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1985.
- "The Israelite Settlement in Canaan in Light of Archaeological Excavations." Pages 61–71 in *Biblical Archaeology Today—1984: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984*. Edited by J. Amitai. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985.
- *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible: 10,000–586 B.C.E.* Edited by David N. Freedman. Garden City: Doubleday, 1992.
- "Iron Age Chronology: A Reply to I. Finkelstein." *Levant* 29 (1997): 157–167.
- "The 1997–1998 Excavations at Tel Rehov: Preliminary Report." *IEJ* 49 (1999): 1–42.
- "Tel Rehov, 1997." *ESI* 109 (1999): 42–43.
- "Tel Rehov, 1998–2001." *ESI* 114 (2002): 38–40.
- "The Debate over the Chronology of the Iron Age in the Southern Levant: Its History, the Current Situation, and a Suggested Resolution." Pages 13–28 in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text, and Science*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham. London: Equinox, 2005.
- *Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989–1996, Volume I: From the Late Bronze Age IIB to the Medieval Period*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2006.
- "On Archaeology, Biblical History and Biblical Archaeology." Pages 21–33 in *The Quest*

- for *Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Edited by Brian Schmidt. Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.
- “The Search for David and Solomon: An Archaeological Perspective.” Pages 117–139 in *The Quest for Historical Israel: Debating Archaeology and the History of Early Israel*. Edited by Brian Schmidt. Archaeology and Biblical Studies, 17. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007.
 - “Rehov, Tel.” Pages 2013–2018 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 5. Edited by Ephraim Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2008.
 - “The Iron Age Dwellings at Tell Qasile.” Pages 319–335 in *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*. Edited by J. David Schloen. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009.
 - “A Response to Finkelstein and Piasezky’s Criticism and ‘New Perspective’.” *Radiocarbon* 52 (2010): 1681–1688.
- Mazar, Amihai, David Amit, and Zvi Ilan. “Hurvat Shulhah: An Iron Age Site in the Judean Desert.” Pages 193–211 in *Retrieving the Past: Essays on Archaeological Research and Methodology in Honor of Gus. W. Van Beek*. Edited by J. Seger. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1996.
- Mazar, Eilat, and Benjamin Mazar. *Excavations in the South of the Temple Mount: The Ophel of Biblical Jerusalem*. Qedem, 29. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1989.
- Mazar, Amihai, and C.B. Ramsey. “C14 Dates and the Iron Age Chronology of Israel: A Response.” *Radiocarbon* 50 (2008): 159–180.
- Mazar, Amihai et al. “Ladder of Time at Tel Rehov: Stratigraphy, Archaeological Context, Pottery and Radiocarbon Dates.” Pages 193–255 in *The Bible and Radiocarbon Dating: Archaeology, Text, and Science*. Edited by Thomas E. Levy and Thomas Higham. London: Equinox, 2005.
- Mazar, Amihai, and Robert Mullins, eds. *Excavations at Tel Beth Shean 1989–1996, Volume II: The Middle and Late Bronze Age Strata in Area R*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2007.
- McCarter, Jr., P. Kyle. *2 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. Anchor Bible, 9. Garden City: Doubleday, 1984.
- McQuitty, Alison. “An Ethnographic and Archaeological Study of Clay Ovens in Jordan.” *Annual of the Department of Antiquities Amman, Jordan* 28 (1984): 259–267.
- “Ovens in Town and Country.” *Berytus* 39 (1994): 53–76.
- Meadows, Karen. “The Appetites of Households in Early Roman Britain.” Pages 100–120 in *The Archaeology of Household Activities*. Edited by P.M. Allison. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Meyers, Carol. “The Roots of Restriction: Women in Early Israel.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 41, no. 3 (1978): 91–103.
- “Procreation, Production, and Protection: Male–Female Balance in Early Israel.” *JAAR* 51, no. 4 (1983): 569–593.
 - *Discovering Eve: Ancient Israelite Women in Context*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988.
 - “Of Drums and Damsels: Women’s Performance in Ancient Israel.” *Biblical Archaeologist* 54, no. 1 (1991): 16–27.
 - “Engendering Syro-Palestinian Archaeology: Reasons and Resources.” *NEA* 66, no. 4 (2002): 185–197.
 - “Material Remains and Social Relations: Women’s Culture in Agrarian Households of the Iron Age.” Pages 425–444 in *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbours from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palestine*. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003.

- “From Field Crops to Food: Attributing Gender and Meaning to Bread Production in Iron Age Israel.” Pages 67–84 in *The Archaeology of Difference: Gender, Ethnicity, Class and the “Other” in Antiquity-Studies in Honor of Eric M. Meyers*. Edited by D.R. Edwards and C.T. McCollough. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2007.
- Milledge Nelson, Sarah. *Gender in Archaeology: Analyzing Power and Prestige*. Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press, 1997.
- Milledge Nelson, Sarah, ed. *Handbook of Gender in Archaeology*. New York: AltaMira Press, 2006.
- Miller Rosen, Arlene. “Micro Artifact Analysis at Tel Halif, 1992 Season.” N.p., www.cobb.msstate.edu/dignew/FieldIV.
- Moore, George F. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges*, 2nd edn. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908.
- Moseley, Edward M., and Carol J. Mackey. “Peruvian Settlement Pattern Studies and Small Site Methodology.” *American Antiquity* 37, no. 1 (1972): 67–81.
- Mulder-Heymans, Noor. “Archaeology, Experimental Archaeology and Ethnoarchaeology on Bread Ovens in Syria.” *Civilisations* 49 (2002): 2–22.
- Na’aman, Nadav, and Yifat Thareani-Sussely. “Dating the Appearance of Assyrian Ware in Southern Palestine.” *Tel Aviv* 33 (2006): 61–82.
- Nemet-Nejat, Karen Rhea. *Daily Life in Ancient Mesopotamia*. Peabody: Hendrickson, 2002.
- Netting Robert, Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnould, eds. *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Netzer, Ehud. “Domestic Architecture in the Iron Age.” Pages 195–198 in *The Architecture of Ancient Israel: From the Prehistoric to the Persian Period*. Edited by Aharon Kempinski and Ronny Reich. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1991.
- Neunfeldt, Rlain. “Sexual Violence and Power: The Case of Tamar in 2 Samuel 13:1–22.” *Journal of Latin American Hermeneutics* 2007:1–10.
- Niditch, Susan. *Judges: A Commentary*. Old Testament Library. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008.
- Noll, Stephen F. “Mal’ak.” Pages 941–942 in *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*, vol. 2. Edited by W.A. Van Gemeren et al. 5 vols. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1997.
- Onn, Alexander, and Yehuda Rapuano. “Jerusalem, Kh.er-Ras.” *ESI* 13 (1993): 71.
- Parker, Bradley. “Bread Ovens, Social Networks and Gendered Space.” Unpublished manuscript, 2008.
- Piperno, Delores R. *Phytoliths: A Comprehensive Guide for Archaeologists and Paleoecologists*. Oxford: AltaMira Press, 2006.
- Pritchard, James B., ed. *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd edn. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1955.
- *Ancient Near East: Supplementary Texts and Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969.
- Riklin, Shimon. “Bet Arye.” *ESI* 12 (1994): 39.
- Ringstedt, Nils. *Household Economy and Archaeology*. Stockholm Series in Archaeology, 12. Stockholm: Stockholm Universitet, 1992.
- Römer, Thomas. *The So-Called Deuteronomistic History: A Sociological, Historical and Literary Introduction*. London: T. & T. Clark, 2005.
- Rowe, John H. “Urban Settlement in Ancient Peru.” *Nawpa Pacha* 1 (1963): 1–27.
- Saitta, Dean J. “The Archaeology of Households: Alternative Approaches.” *Man in the Northeast* 28 (1984): 1–8.
- Schaedel, R.P. “Incipient Urbanization and Secularization in Tiahuanacoid, Peru.” *American Antiquity* 31, no. 3 (1996): 338–344.
- Schiffer, Michael Brian. *Behavioural Archaeology*. Foundations of Archaeological Inquiry Series. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.
- “The Clay Cooking Pot: An Exploration of Women’s Technology.” Pages 80–91 in

- Expanding Archaeology*. Edited by J. Skibo, W.H. Walker, and A. Nielsen. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995.
- Schloen, J. David. *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonialism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East*. Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant, 2. Edited by L. Stager. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2001.
- Schneider, Tammi J. *Judges*. Berit Olam. Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 2000.
- Seger, Joe D. "Halif, Tel." Pages 553–561 in *The New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 2. Edited by E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.
- "Lahav." Pages 325–326 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 3. Edited by E. Meyers. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Seligman, Jon. "A Late Iron Age Farmhouse at Ras Aby Ma'Aruf, Pisgat Ze'ev A." *Atiqot* 25 (1994): 63–75.
- Shafer-Elliott, Cynthia. "Cooking." In *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Bible and Archaeology*. Edited by Daniel Master et al. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.
- Shiloh, Yigal. "The Four-Room House: Its Situation and Function in the Israelite City." *IEJ* 20 (1970): 180–190.
- "Elements in the Development of Town Planning in the Israelite City." *IEJ* 28 (1978): 36–51.
- "The Population of Iron Age Palestine in the Light of Sample Analysis of Urban Plans, Areas, and Population Density." *BASOR* (1980): 25–35.
- "The Casemate Wall, the Four Room House, and Early Planning in the Israelite City." *BASOR* (1987): 3–15.
- Singer-Avitz, Lily. "On Pottery in the Assyrian Style: A Rejoinder." *Tel Aviv* 34 (2007): 182–203.
- "The Relative Chronology of Khirbet Qeiyafa." *Tel Aviv* 37 (2010): 79–83.
- Smith, Henry Preserved. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*. International Critical Commentary. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912.
- Smith, R.H., A.W. McNicoll, and J.B. Hennessy. "The 1981 Season at Pella of the Decapolis." *BASOR* 249 (1983): 45–78.
- Smith, Stuart Tyson. "Pharaohs, Feasts, and Foreigners: Cooking, Foodways, and Agency on Ancient Egypt's Southern Frontier." Pages 39–64 in *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. Edited by T.L. Bray. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2003.
- Soggin, J. Alberto. *Judges*. Translated by John Bowden. Old Testament Library. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1981.
- Souvatzki, Stella. *A Social Archaeology of Households in Neolithic Greece: An Anthropological Approach*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Spector, Janet D., and Margaret W. Conkey. "Archaeology and the Study of Gender." Pages 1–38 in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*. Edited by M.B. Schiffer. New York: Academic Press, 1984.
- Speiser, E.A. *Genesis: Introduction, Translation, and Notes*. Anchor Bible. Garden City: Doubleday, 1964.
- Stager, Lawrence E. "The Archaeology of the Family in Ancient Israel." *BASOR* 260 (1985): 1–35.
- "Shemer's Estate." *BASOR* 277/278 (1990): 93–107.
- Stager, Lawrence E., and Philip J. King. *Life in Biblical Israel*. Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001.
- Stern, Ephraim. *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 BC*. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1982.
- Steiner, Margaret L. *Excavations by Kathleen M. Kenyon in Jerusalem 1961–1967, vol. III: The Settlement in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press/

- Continuum Press, 2001.
- Stigg Sorensen, Marie Louise. *Gender Archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.
- Strong, James. *Strong's Hebrew and Chaldee Dictionary of the Old Testament*. Accordance Bible software, 2009.
- Tappy, Ronald E. *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria: Vol. II, The Eighth Century BCE*. Harvard Semitic Studies, 50. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1992.
- *The Archaeology of Israelite Samaria: Vol. I, Early Iron Age through the Ninth Century BCE*. Harvard Semitic Studies, 44. Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 2001.
- Thompson, Thomas L. *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources*. Studies in the History of the Ancient Near East, 4. Leiden: Brill, 1992.
- "A Neo-Albrightian School in History and Biblical Scholarship?" *JBL* 114 (1995): 683–698.
- *The Bible in History: How Writers Create a Past*. New York: Basic Books, 2000.
- Tufnell, Olga. *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age Text*. The Wellcome-Martson Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, 3. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- *Lachish III (Tell ed-Duweir): The Iron Age Plates*. The Wellcome-Martson Archaeological Research Expedition to the Near East, 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Turner, Laurence A. *Genesis*. Readings. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000.
- United Bible Society, Committee on Translations, eds. *Fauna and Flora of the Bible*, 2nd edn. London: United Bible Societies, 1980.
- Ussishkin, David. "Lachish." Pages 897–911 in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, vol. 3. Edited by E. Stern. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993.
- "Lachish." Pages 317–323 in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 3. Edited by E. Meyers. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- *The Renewed Archaeological Excavations at Lachish, 1973–1994*. Monograph Series, 22. 7 vols. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology Tel Aviv University, 2004.
- Van der Steen, Eveline J. "The Iron Age Bread Ovens from Tell Deir 'Alla." *The Annual of the Department of Antiquities, Jordan* 35 (1991): 135–153.
- Van Gemen, Willem A. *The New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis*. Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1996.
- Vawter, Bruce. *A Path through Genesis*. London: Sheed and Ward Stagbooks, 1976.
- Von Rad, Gerhard. *Genesis: A Commentary*. Translated by John H. Marks. Old Testament Library. London: SCM Press, 1972.
- Walton, J., V.H. Matthews, and M.W. Chavalas. *The IVP Bible Background Commentary Von Rad, Gerhard. Old Testament*. Downers Grove: InterVarsity Press, 2000.
- Wapnish, Paula. "Archaeozoology: _e Integration of Faunal Data with Biblical Archaeology." Pages 426–442 in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990: The Proceedings of the Second International Congress on Biblical Archaeology*. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993.
- Watson, Patty Jo. *Archaeological Ethnography in Western Iran*. Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, 57. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979.
- Weinstein, James M. "The Egyptian Empire in Palestine: A Reassessment." *BASOR* 241 (1981): 1–28.
- Wenham, Gordon. *Genesis 1–15*. Word Biblical Commentary. Waco: Word Books, 1987.
- *Genesis 16–50*. Word Biblical Commentary. Dallas: Word Books, 1994.
- "Genesis." Pages 32–71 in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible*. Edited by J. Gunn and J. Rogerson. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003.
- Wesseliuss, J.W. "Joab's Death and the Central Theme of the Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 9–1 Kings 11)." *Vetus Testamentum* 40, no. 3 (1990): 336–351.

- Westermann, Claus. *Genesis*. Translated by David E. Green. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1987.
- Whybray, R.N. *The Succession Narrative: A Study of II Samuel 9–20 and I Kings 1 and 2*. Studies in Biblical Theology, second series 9. London; SCM Press, 1968.
- Wiessner, Polly, and Wulf Schiefenhovel. *Food and the Status Quest: An Interdisciplinary Perspective*. Providence, Berghahn Books, 1996.
- Wigram, George V. *The Englishman's Hebrew Concordance of the Old Testament*, 3rd edn. Peabody: Hendrickson Publishers, 2003.
- Wilk, Richard R., and William L. Rathje. "Household Archaeology." *American Behavioural Scientist* 25 (1982): 617–639.
- Wilk, Richard R., and Robert M. Netting. "Households: Changing Forms and Functions." Pages 1–28 in *Households: Comparative and Historical Studies of the Domestic Group*. Edited by Robert McC. Netting, Richard R. Wilk, and Eric J. Arnould. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Wiley, Gordon R. "Prehistory Settlement Patterns in the Viru Valley, Peru." *Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 155 (1953): 3–6.
- "Problems concerning Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the Maya Lowlands." Pages 107–114 in *Prehistoric Settlement Patterns in the New World*. Edited by G.R. Wiley. The Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology Series, 23. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation, 1956.
- Wilson, Gregory D. *The Archaeology of Everyday Life at Early Moundville*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008.
- Yadin, Yigael. *Hazor I – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the First Season of Excavations, 1955*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1958.
- *Hazor II – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Second Season of Excavations, 1956*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1960.
- *Hazor III–IV – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958 – Plates*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1961.
- *Hazor III–IV – The James A. Rothschild Expedition at Hazor: An Account of the Third and Fourth Seasons of Excavations, 1957–1958 – Text*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1961.
- Yadin, Yigael, and Shulamit Geva. *Investigations at Beth-shean: The Early Iron Age Strata*. Qedem, 23. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1986.
- Yasur-Landau, Assaf, Jennie R. Ebeling, and Laura B. Mazow, eds. *Household Archaeology in Ancient Israel and Beyond*. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East, 50. Leiden: Brill, 2011.
- Zeder, M.A. "Faunal Remains from the 1976–83 Seasons at Tell Halif." *Lahav Research Project Report*. Mississippi Sate University, 1984.
- Zertal, Adam. "'To the Land of the Perizzites and the Giants:’ On the Israelite Settlement in the Hill Country of Manasseh." Pages 47–69 in *From Nomadism to Monarchy: Archaeological and Historical Aspects of Early Israel*. Edited by I. Finkelstein and N. Na'aman. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994.
- "The Heart of the Monarchy: Pattern of Settlement and Historical Considerations of the Israelite Kingdom of Samaria." Pages 38–64 in *Studies in the Archaeology of the Iron Age in Israel and Jordan*. Edited by A. Mazar. JSOTSup, 331. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001.
- Zohary, Michael. *Plants of the Bible*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

INDEX OF ANCIENT REFERENCES

Biblical

Genesis

1–11 [8](#)

11:4 [35](#)

11:31 [140](#)

12:5 [140](#)

12:11 [140](#)

12:15 [140](#)

13:18 [142](#)

14:13 [142](#)

15:8 [164](#)

16:2 [140](#)

16:6 [140](#)

16:14 [152](#)

17:1–22 [139–40](#)

18:1–16 [7](#), [138–48](#), [158](#), [164](#), [180](#)

19 [35](#), [164](#)

20:2 [140](#)

20:12 [140](#)

21:2–3 [140](#)

21:10 [140](#)

23:2 [140](#)

23:17–19 [142](#)

24:62 [152](#)

25 [7](#), [138](#), [142](#), [148–56](#), [180](#)

26:1 [152](#)

26:6 [152](#)

27 [148](#), [149](#), [156](#)

28 [148](#), [156](#)

29:21–30 [149–50](#)

30:25–43 [149](#)
31:5–55 [149](#)
32:24–30 [149](#)
33:4–16 [149](#)
35:4 [209 n. 67](#)
35:9–15 [150](#)
37:1–35 [150](#)
43:16 [141](#)

Exodus

3:12–13 [164](#)
4:1 [164](#)
8:3 [121](#)
12:8–9 [144](#)
12:21 [141](#)
16:3 [106](#)
29:2,40 [208 n. 34](#)

Leviticus 21

1:10–13 [162](#)
2:4–5 [119](#), [121](#), [208 n. 34](#)
3:1, 6 [208 n. 34](#)
3:17 [132](#), [174](#)
5:11 [208 n. 34](#)
6:9 [203 n. 4](#)
6:15, 20 [208 n. 34](#)
6:21 [119](#)
7:9 [119](#), [121](#)
7:26 [132](#), [174](#)
11:35 [121](#)
17:10–14 [132](#), [174](#)
19:26 [132](#), [174](#)
22:21 [208 n. 34](#)
24:5 [146](#)
25:29–31 [38](#), [51](#)
26:26 [121](#), [140](#)

Numbers

6:15 [208 n. 34](#)
7:13 [208 n. 34](#)
11:8 [106](#)
13:28 [35](#)
20:14–21 [156](#)
32:41 [37](#)
35:2 [36](#)

Deuteronomy

3:5 [35](#)
3:14 [37](#)
6:10 [35](#)
12:16 [132](#), [175](#)
12:23 [132](#)
15:23 [132](#)

20:14 [36](#)

Joshua

13 [37](#)

13:30 [37](#)

15–19 [37](#)

15:45 [38](#)

18:28 [37](#)

21 [36](#), [37](#)

24:13 [36](#)

Judges 8

6 [7](#), [106](#), [138](#), [156–65](#), [180](#)

7 [158](#), [159](#)

8 [158](#), [159](#)

10:14 [37](#)

19:4–8 [164](#)

1 Samuel

1:24 [162–3](#)

2:12–17 [106](#), [162](#)

6:18 [37](#)

8:13 [140](#)

9:23–24 [141](#)

14:32, 34 [141](#)

14:47 [156](#)

23:7 [35](#)

25:11 [141](#)

2 Samuel

3:2, 3 [166–7](#)

3:35 [173](#)

8:14 [156](#)

11–12 [165](#), [173](#)

13 [7–8](#), [138](#), [165–74](#)

20:19 [38](#)

1 Kings

4:13 [35](#)

9:17–18 [35](#)

9:19 [35](#)

13:14 [209 n. 67](#)

15:9–24 [35](#)

2 Kings 8

3:35 [183 n. 4](#)

4:38–41 [106](#)

8:20, [22](#) [156](#)

1 Chronicles

2:23 [37](#)

10:12 [209 n. 67](#)

2 Chronicles

8:5 [35](#)

8:6 [35](#)

14:7 [35](#)

26:9 [35](#)

Psalms

137:7 [156](#)

147:13 [35](#)

Proverbs

31:15 [111](#)

Ecclesiastes

9:14 [35](#)

12:3 [140](#)

Song of Songs/Canticles

7:11 [37](#)

Isaiah

5:1 [194](#) n. 4

16:7, 11 [194](#) n. 4

30:14 [203](#) n. 4

32:15–20 [39–40](#)

44:19 [119](#)

65:10 [40](#)

Jeremiah

1:13 [106](#)

7:18 [140](#)

21:6 [36](#)

33:4 [36](#)

48:31 [194](#) n. 4

Ezekiel

4:3 [119](#)

4:9a [155](#)

4:12 [155](#)

6:13 [209](#) n. 67

11:3 [106](#)

11:7 [106](#)

11:11 [106](#)

25:12–14 [156](#)

34:14 [40](#)

38:11 [39](#)

43:15–16 [203](#) n. 4

Hosea

4:13 [209](#) n. 67

7:4, 6–7 [121](#)

Joel

2:9 [36](#)

Amos

9:14 [36](#)

Obadiah

1:8–21 [156](#)

Micah

3:3 [106](#)

Zephaniah

2:6–7 [39–40](#)

Zechariah

2:4 [39](#)

14:20–21 [106](#)

Malachi

1:4 [156](#)

Other Ancient

Literature and Art

Yale Babylonian Culinary

Tablets [121](#), [126–7](#), [132–6](#), [154](#)

Annals of Esarhaddon [6](#)

Assyrian Encyclopedia [127](#), [132](#)

Tomb of Rameses III [127](#), [134](#)

Tomb of Ken-amun [127](#), [134](#)

Tomb of Sebekhetepi [127](#)

Tomb of Nianchchnum and Chnumhotep [134](#)

The Tale of Sinuhe [146](#)

Epic of Gilgamesh [151](#)

Apicius [154](#)

Gezer Manual/Calendar [159](#)

INDEX OF AUTHORS

- Ackerman, James S. 170, 212 n. 100
Aharoni, Yohanan 41, 61, 159, 187, 191 n. 57, 194 n. 22, 208 n. 42, 209 n. 62
Ahlström, W. Gösta 5–6, 185 n. 6, n. 8, 200 n. 99
Albright, William F. 26–28, 61, 192 n. 60, n. 62
Allison, Penelope 188 n. 38, 206 n. 1
Amiran, Ruth 6, 67, 186 n. 7, 198 n. 22
Amit, David 41, 43, 185 n. 2, n. 3, 195 n. 37, 201 n. 120
Amit, Yairah 164, 209 n. 80
Anderson, A.A. 209 n. 85
Anderson, Gary 206 n. 2
Anastasio, Stefano 186 n. 8
Arnott, Margaret L. 20
- Bar-Efrat, Shimon 173, 211 n. 111
 Barkay, Gabriel 92, 198 n. 32
Bascom, William 131, 205 n. 54
Becking, Bob 5, 185 n. 5
Bender, Donald R. 12–13, 187 n. 5
Ben-Shlomo, David 65–66, 104, 198 n. 17, n. 21, 201 n. 117, n. 124, 202 n. 146, n. 149, n. 155, n. 157, n. 159, 205 n. 46
Ben-Tor, Ammon 191 n. 57
Bledstein, Adrien Janis x, 166–8, 173–4, 209 n. 88, n. 90, 210 n. 90, n. 92, n. 99, 211 n. 113, n. 114, n. 116
Boaretto, Elisabetta 192 n. 67
Boling, Robert G. 158–9, 164, 188 n. 16, 208 n. 58, 209 n. 77
Borowski, Oded x, 3, 21, 42, 45–7, 71, 111, 138, 145–6, 155, 160, 162, 185 n. 1, 187 n. 2, 188 n. 21, 190 n. 47, n. 48, n. 49, 195 n. 30, 196 n. 48, 198 n. 14, n. 31, 199 n. 47, 202 n. 164, 205 n. 56, 206 n. 3, 207 n. 4, n. 6, n. 23, n. 26, 208 n. 28, n. 31, n. 46, n. 50, n. 54, 209 n. 63, n. 68, n. 74, 210 n. 99
Bottero, Jean 120–2, 127–9, 132–4, 203 n. 12, n. 13, n. 15, 204 n. 19, n. 36, n. 37, n. 39, n. 44, 205 n. 57–9, n. 61, n. 62, 206 n. 64, n. 68
Braemer, Frank 16, 42, 188 n. 16, n. 26, 195 n. 28
Bray, Tamar 189 n. 38, 190 n. 51, 206 n. 1

Brown, Francis 194 n. 4–18, 207 n. 20, 208 n. 27, n. 30, n. 38, n. 49, n. 56, 209 n. 70, n. 72, n. 89, 210 nn. 104–5
 Brueggemann, Walter 205 n. 60
 Bruins, Hendrick 193 n. 67
 Brumfiel, Elizabeth M. 193 n. 71
 Butler, Trent C. 159, 186 n. 16, 208 n. 60, n. 81

 Clark, Douglas R. 198 n. 14
 Conkey, Margaret W. 193 n. 71
 Coote, Robert 194 n. 21
 Covello-Paran, Karen 185 n. 2
 Curtis, Robert I. 120, 127, 134, 203 n. 11, n. 20, n. 35, n. 41, 206 n. 67

 Dabney, Mary K. 202 n. 148, 206 n. 1
 Daube, David 210 n. 99
 Daviau, P.M. Michele 17, 83, 189 n. 30, 199 n. 63, n. 70, 201 n. 127, 203 n. 5
 Davies, Philip x, 27, 186 n. 11, 192 n. 62
 De Geus, C.H.J. 42–44, 195 n. 29, n. 33, 196 n. 36–9
 De Vaux, Roland, O.P. 207 n. 22, 208 n. 32
 Dever, William G. 27–28, 192 n. 63, 193 n. 70, 207 n. 3
 Dietler, Michael 190 n. 51
 Dothan, Trude 210 n. 108
 Douglas, Mary 21, 189 n. 45, 190 n. 51, 206 n. 2

 Edelman, Diana x, 186 n. 11
 Edelstein, Gershon x, 92–8, 116, 200 n. 100–102, 201 n. 106–16, n. 119, n. 121, n. 123, n. 125, n. 128
 Eitam, David 185 n. 2
 Elyada, Ouzi 189 n. 43
 Ellison, Rosemary 190 n. 50
 Engstrom, Christian M.A. 186 n. 8

 Faas, Patrick 208 n. 53
 Farb, Peter 190 n. 51
 Faust, Avraham x, 15, 42–3, 49–52, 99, 104, 110, 138, 185 n. 3, 186 n. 15, n. 23, 194 n. 21, 195 n. 32, 196 n. 38, n. 62–3, n. 67, n. 70, 198 n. 14, 200 n. 103, 201 n. 107, n. 134, 202 nn. 162–63, 207 n. 3
 Feig, Nurit 92, 185 n. 3, 200 n. 102–3, n. 105, 201 n. 115
 Finkelstein, Israel 28–29, 41–2, 52–3, 188 n. 15, n. 22, n. 24, 190 n. 57, 191 n. 59, 192 n. 61, n. 65–7, 193 n. 67–70, 194 n. 21, n. 22, 195 n. 23–4, n. 71
 Fisher, P.M. 205 n. 48
 Flannery, K.V. 189 n. 38
 Fritz, Volkmar 42–46, 50, 52, 92, 193 n. 29, 194 n. 43

 Gosden, Chris 190 n. 51
 Givon, Shmuel 188 n. 24
 Gershuney, Lilly 210 n. 107
 Gerstenberger, Erhard D. 205 n. 60
 Goldberg, Marilyn Y. 189 n. 38, 206 n. 1
 Gonen, Rivka 194 n. 1
 Goody, Jack 11–12, 22–6, 31–2, 59, 61, 177, 182, 187 n. 4, 190 n. 52–3, n. 55
 Gophna, Ram 77, 185 n. 2
 Gordon, Robert P. 186 n. 14, 187 n. 16, 209 n. 86

Gottwald, Norman 186 n. 13, n. 15, 194 n. 21, 205 n. 60

Grintz, J.M. 206 n. 2

Gunkel, Hermann 141–2, 186 n. 10, 207 n. 7, n. 9–12, n. 14

Gur-Arieh, Shira 203 n. 4

Haiman, Morechai 41, 195 n. 27

Haran, Menahem 206 n. 2

Hardin, James W. x, 17–18, 24, 78–9, 138, 188 n. 19, 189 n. 28, n. 31, n. 33–5, 193 n. 70, 198 n. 19, n. 199 n. 51–4, n. 62, 199 n. 80, 200 n. 119–20, 203 n. 1, 206 n. 3

Harris, Marvin 21, 190 n. 46

Hayes, John H. 194 n. 2

Hendon, Julia A. 189 n. 38

Herrmann, Siegfried 193 n. 2

Hertzberg, Han Wilhelm 167–9, 173, 187 n. 16, 209 n. 87, 210 n. 93–4, n. 96, 211 n. 112

Herzog, Ze'ev 48–49, 191 n. 57, 196 n. 55–61

Hesse, Brian 190 n. 48

Hizmi, Hanania 185 n. 2

Holden, Constance 193 n. 67

Holladay, John S. Jr. 189 n. 25

Houston, Walter J. 206 n. 2

Isaakidou, Valasia 22, 190 n. 54

Jacobs, Paul x, 199 n. 46, 201 n. 120

Johnson, Matthew 189 n. 42

Kempinski, Aharon 188 n. 20, n. 22, 195 n. 25, 196 n. 55

Kenyon, Kathleen M. 191 n. 58

Kidner, Derek 208 n. 47

Killebrew, Anne E. 107, 202 n. 154

Kloner, Amos 41, 191 n. 59, 195 n. 23

Kochavi, Moshe 61, 185 n. 2, 197 n. 3

Kolska Horwitz, Liora 201 n. 116, n. 118

Kroeber, Alfred L. 55–6, 197 n. 82

Lausttrup, Mark 187 n. 1

Lemche, Niels Peter 27, 186 n. 9, 192 n. 62

Lernau, H. 187 n. 1

Levi-Strauss, Claude 20, 189 n. 43

Lipschits, Oded 42, 195 n. 31

MacDonald, Nathan x, 21, 138, 187 n. 2, 190 n. 47, n. 50, 207 n. 3

Maeir, Aren M. x, 185 n. 3, 195 n. 27, 198 n. 17, 203 n. 4, 210 n. 107

Mazar, Benjamin 191, n. 58

Mazar, Amihai x, 28, 47–8, 185, 188 n. 14, n. 24, 191 n. 57, 193 n. 64, n. 66, 67–8, n. 70, 195 n. 23, 196 n. 52–3, 202 n. 120, 205 n. 48, 209 n. 61, 211 n. 107–8

Mazar, Eilat 191 n. 58

McCarter Jr., P. Kyle 171–3, 187 n. 16, 211 n. 109

McQuitty, Alison 120–23, 128, 202 n. 142, 202 n. 7–8, n. 10, 203 n. 16–18, n. 25, n. 27, n. 45

Meadows, Karen 206 n. 1

Meyers, Carol 138, 189 n. 39–40, 193 n. 71, 194 n. 19, 196 n. 54, 203 n. 2, 206–7 n. 3, 208 n. 41

Milledge Nelson, Sarah 193 n. 71–2

- Miller Rosen, Arlene 82, 194 n. 2, 200 n. 59
- Mississippi State University Cobb Institute 60, 77–92, 115, 187 n. 1, 198 n. 20, 199 n. 49, 200 n. 71–98, 201 n. 122, 202 n. 140
- Moore, George F. 162, 186 n. 16, 209 n. 75
- Moseley Edward M. 53, 55, 197 n. 77, n. 81, n. 83–8
- Mulder-Heymans, Noor 124–5, 129–30, 144, 154, 204 n. 28–34, 205 n. 47–50, 207 n. 18, 208 n. 52
- Na'aman, Nadav 186 n. 8, 194–5 n. 23–4
- Netting, Robert 13, 187 n. 6–7
- Netzer, Ehud 15, 42, 188 n. 20–21, 195 n. 28, 198 n. 14
- Neunfeldt, Rlain 166–7, 173–4, 209–10 n. 88, n. 90–91, n. 99, 211 n. 115
- Niditch, Susan 186 n. 16, 209 n. 79
- Noll, Stephen F. 159, 208 n. 59
- Parker, Bradly x, 122–3, 198 n. 40, 204 n. 21–4, 207 n. 19
- Piperno, Delores R. 200 n. 178
- Riklin, Shimon 185, n. 2
- Rowe, John H. 54–55, 197 n. 80
- Schaedel, R.P. 54, 197 n. 79
- Schiffer, Michael Brian 193 n. 71
- Schloen, J. David 15, 42, 188 n. 18–19, 195 n. 28, 205 n. 48
- Schneider, Tammi J. 163–4, 186 n. 16, 208 n. 57, 209 n. 76, n. 78
- Seeger, Joe D. x, 77, 185 n. 3, 199 n. 46, n. 47–8, n. 50
- Seligman, Jon x, 99–104, 116, 201 n. 129–33, 202 n. 135–47, n. 15–2
- Shafer-Elliott, Cynthia 202 n. 153
- Shiloh, Yigal 14–15, 41–2, 186 n. 12, 188 n. 13, n. 15, n. 17, n. 22, 195 n. 26, n. 28–9
- Singer-Avitz, Lily 186 n. 8, 192–3 n. 67
- Smith, Henry Preserved 187 n. 16, 210 n. 99
- Smith, R.H. 205 n. 48
- Smith, Stuart Tyson 206 n. 1
- Soggin, J. Alberto 161–2, 208 n. 55, 209 n. 71, n. 73, n. 83
- Souvatz, Stella 189 n. 38
- Spector, Janet D. 193 n. 71
- Speiser, E.A. 186 n. 10, 209 n. 47
- Stager, Lawrence E. 16–17, 42, 188 n. 14, n. 19, n. 25, 189 n. 29, 191 n. 57, 195 n. 28, 198 n. 18, 199 n. 61, 205 n. 48
- Stern, Ephraim 191 n. 57, 194 n. 3, 199 n. 2
- Steiner, Margaret L. 191 n. 58
- Stigg Sorensen, Marie L. 193 n. 71
- Strong, James 207 n. 20, 208 n. 27, n. 30, n. 56, 210 n. 103–5
- Tappy, Ronald 191 n. 57
- Thompson, Thomas L. 27, 185 n. 4, 192 n. 62
- Turner, Laurence A. 186 n. 10
- Ussishkin, David 61–5, 67, 70, 72, 74–6, 109, 114, 190 n. 57, 197 n. 1–2, n. 4–13, 198 n. 13–17, n. 23, n. 25–7, n. 29–30, n. 32–9, 199 n. 41–2, n. 44, 210 n. 108
- Van der Steen, Eveline J. 120–21, 128, 135, 202 n. 142, 203 n. 6, n. 8–9, 204 n. 18, n. 45, 206 n. 70

Van Gemeren, Willem [209](#), [n. 59](#)
Von Rad, Gerhard [142](#), [149–50](#), [186 n. 10](#), [207 n. 5](#), [n. 8](#), [n. 13](#), [208 n. 39](#), [n. 47–8](#)
Vawter, Bruce [207 n. 15](#)

Walton, J. [152](#), [154–5](#), [208 n. 16](#), [208 n. 33](#), [209 n. 82](#)
Watson, Patty Jo [130–31](#), [201 n. 127](#), [202 n. 142](#), [n. 156](#), [203 n. 166](#), [n. 6](#), [204 n. 26](#), [205 n. 51](#), [207 n. 17](#)
Weinstein, James M. [194 n. 1](#)
Wenham, Gordon [8](#), [141](#), [144](#), [147](#), [151](#), [186 n. 10](#), [n. 12](#), [207 n. 7](#), [n. 8](#), [n. 21–2](#), [208 n. 34](#), [n. 37](#), [n. 43](#), [n. 47](#), [n. 48](#)
Wesselius, J.W. [210 n. 95](#)
Westermann, Claus [142](#), [186 n. 10](#), [207 n. 11](#)
Whybray, R.N. [209 n. 84](#)
Wiessner, Polly [190 n. 51](#)
Wigram, George [194 n. 7](#), [n. 10](#), [n. 12](#), [n. 14–15](#), [n. 17](#), [n. 20](#), [210 n. 103](#)
Wilk, Richard R. [12–14](#), [187 n. 3](#), [n. 6–8](#), [189 n. 32](#)
Willey, Gordon R. [53–4](#), [197 n. 78](#)
Wilson, Gregory D. [189 n. 38](#)

Yadin, Yigael [190 n. 57](#), [210 n. 107–8](#)
Yassur-Landau, Assaf [188–9 n. 27](#)

Zeder, M.A. [187 n. 1](#)
Zertal, Adam [41](#), [194 n. 23](#)

INDEX OF SUBJECTS

- Abraham 139–52, 158, 174–5, 180–82, 192 n. 60
Absalom 165–6, 210 n. 99
activity areas 13, 17–18, 20, 30, 59–113, 189 n. 30
 group 13–14
administrative
 buildings 3, 33, 47
 centers 44, 47, 56
 function 44, 57–8
 officials 35
 settlements 34, 48
 supervision 38, 58
agriculture 11, 20, 23, 42, 45, 53, 76, 85, 138, 180, 187 n. 2, 190 n. 47, 195 n. 30, 198 n. 31,
 205 n. 56, 206 n. 3, 208 n. 46, n. 50, n. 54, 209 n. 63
 installations 50, 58
Amnon 165–76, 182
animal husbandry 16, 23, 40, 44, 111, 181
archaeobotanical 31, 59
Assurbanipal 5
Assyrian (Neo) campaign 5–6, 28, 62, 70, 73–4, 78, 88–9
 empire 2, 5, 88, 186 n. 8
 encyclopedia 127, 132
 pottery 6, 186 n. 8

bake 21, 68, 108, 119–27, 130, 135, 143–7, 155, 161, 164, 171–2, 175, 179, 181
Bedouin 29, 52, 142–3, 145, 207 n. 25
behavioral aspect 13–14, 19, 118
biblical archaeology 9–10, 26–8, 188 n. 24, 192 n. 64, 193 n. 70, 201 n. 110
bowls 6, 18, 67–71, 81–3, 85–91, 94–7, 102–4, 210 n. 108
bread 22, 68, 73, 86, 88, 98, 108, 112, 119–36, 140, 143–7, 154–5, 161–4, 170–75, 179–81,
 187 n. 2, 190 n. 47, 198 n. 40, 202 n. 142, n. 160, 203 n. 4, n. 5, n. 8–9, 204 n. 20–22, n.
 28, n. 45, 205 n. 48, 206 n. 70, n. 3, 207 n. 3, n. 19, 208 n. 34
 cakes 132, 140, 144–5, 147, 170–72, 210 n. 99
 chunks 131

- dough 68, 119–29, 145, 155, 163, 170–71, 174–5, 181, 203 n. 4
 - dumplings 170–75, 180
 - flour 21, 71, 119–28, 132–4, 140, 144, 147, 161–4, 172
 - leavened 21, 121–2, 125, 162–3, 171–2
 - measurements 144, 163–4
 - molds 122, 155, 204 n. 20
 - other ingredients 127–8, 172
 - unleavened 21, 119–22, 125, 144, 161, 162–4, 172, 174–5, 181
 - yeast 125
- capital 25, 43–9, 56–7, 166
- chronology debate 28–29, 190 n. 57, 192–3 n. 66–7
- city 4, 6, 25, 33–57, 63, 76, 92, 150, 187 n. 12, 189 n. 38, 195 n. 26, n. 29, 196 n. 43–6, 197 n. 6, 206 n. 1
- cooking installation/oven
- brazier 169, 174
 - communal oven 89, 122–3, 124
 - flue 120–21, 123–4, 129–30, 136
 - hearth 23, 104, 108, 121, 123, 137, 144–8, 154, 156, 175, 178, 180–81, 203 n. 4, 204 n. 26
 - installation 18, 26, 29–31, 50, 58, 60, 66, 68–73, 88–91, 93, 95, 97, 100, 103–10, 117–18, 143–4, 153–4, 163–4, 169–74, 178–9, 203 n. 4, 210 n. 98
 - oven 2, 23, 68, 72, 98, 103, 106–8, 119–37, 139, 144–5, 162–3, 178–9, 198 n. 28, n. 40, 202 n. 142, 203 n. 4, n. 6, n. 8–9, 204 n. 16–31, n. 44–5, 205 n. 48, 206 n. 70, 207 n. 19
 - oven house 103, 124
 - saj* 119–21, 124, 130, 143, 145, 203 n. 5
 - tabun* 67–68, 75, 77, 82–3, 85–91, 98, 108–9, 112, 119–30, 135, 137, 144–8, 154, 156, 162–3, 169, 172, 174–5, 179–81, 199 n. 28, 204 n. 20, 205 n. 48
 - tannur* 119–27, 130, 134–5, 137, 144–5, 147–8, 154, 156, 162–3, 169, 172, 174–5, 179–81, 204 n. 20, 205 n. 48
 - wajdiah/arsah* 119–20, 124
- cooking pots/vessels
- Canaanite/traditional 65, 67, 69, 73, 81–2, 85–91, 98, 104, 106–16, 136, 145, 154, 162, 172, 175, 178–81
 - cauldron 133–4
 - colander 171–2, 210 n. 106
 - cooking pot 13, 65–116, 124–37, 145, 154, 156, 172, 174–5, 178–81, 199 n. 60, n. 67, 200 n. 73, n. 84–5, n. 98, 202 n. 154, n. 159, 203 n. 4
 - cooking vessel 6, 26, 32, 65–116, 118, 179
 - cooking installation 26, 32, 66–116, 142, 174, 178–9
 - griddle/baking tray 119, 203 n. 5
 - hybrid 65, 67–72, 85, 88, 90–91, 97–8, 101, 103–14, 129, 136, 145, 154, 162, 172, 174–5, 178–81, 202 n. 159
 - Philistine jug 65, 67, 69, 92, 94, 97–8, 103–16, 136, 154, 172, 175, 178, 180–81, 201 n. 117
- cooking techniques
- baking 1, 13, 21, 68–9, 88, 98, 108, 118–30, 135–6, 143–7, 155, 161, 163–4, 171–2, 175, 179, 181, 198 n. 24, n. 28, 202 n. 160, 203 n. 5
 - boiling 21, 106–8, 111, 124, 129–32, 134, 145–8, 153–5, 162, 164, 171, 173–5, 178, 181
 - frying 106, 133, 178
 - grilling 124, 134
 - roasting 21, 73, 107, 122, 131, 133–4, 145, 148, 162, 175
 - simmering 106, 178

- smoking 107
- steaming 106, 131, 178
- stewing 68, 107, 130–36, 149, 151–4, 156, 162, 171–2, 174–5, 179, 181
- courtyard 15, 34, 36, 43–4, 49, 51–3, 63, 66–7, 71–6, 79, 87–8, 91, 94, 98–9, 103–4, 123–4, 169, 188 n. 21, 198 n. 38, 201 n. 115
- cows 21, 66, 81, 95, 97, 145
- cuisine 22–23, 126, 128, 165, 190
- dairy 21, 146
 - butter 21, 140, 142, 146, 148, 175, 180
 - cheese 21, 112, 127, 132, 146
 - eggs 122, 130
 - ghee 127
 - lebben 146
 - milk 21, 111, 126–7, 131, 140–41, 145–8, 161, 175, 180–81, 206 n. 2, 207 n. 6
 - yogurt 21, 112
- David, King 8, 35, 43, 165–8, 170, 172–3, 192 n. 62, 193 n. 67–8, 208 n. 40, 209 n. 88
- diet 1, 11, 21–2, 86, 108, 132, 138, 144, 154, 175, 180, 187 n. 2, 205 n. 60, 206 n. 2
- distribution 14, 16, 22–3, 50, 53, 177
- domestic
 - function 12–13, 75
 - group 12–13, 21, 188 n. 4–6
- Druze 29, 118, 124–5, 129–30, 144, 155, 204 n. 32
- dwelling
 - group 12–13, 23, 26
 - unit 12–13
- er-Ras, Khirbet 4–5, 59–60, 92–8, 109–12, 116, 177, 199 n. 100–101, 201 n. 108–28
- Esau 148–56, 175–6, 181–2, 208 n. 36, n. 40
- ethnography 6, 19, 29–30, 117–19, 135
- ethnoarchaeology 2, 6, 19, 29–30, 117, 124, 135
- experimental archaeology 6, 18–19, 26, 30–31, 117–19, 124, 128–30, 135–6, 144, 154, 179, 183
- family 8, 12–13, 15–16, 49, 107, 123–4, 130–31, 136, 142, 150–51, 165
 - extended 51, 63, 107
 - nuclear 51, 110, 178
- farms, farmstead, farmland 3–5, 11, 16, 25, 36, 38–47, 49–51, 57–9, 62, 78, 92–4, 98–105, 109–13, 116, 157, 178–9
- feast, feasting 1, 136, 139
- fish 65, 72, 75, 80, 82, 134
- floors, cobble/stone 66, 80–81, 84–8, 90
- food paradigm 11–12, 22–5, 31–2, 59, 61, 177, 182
 - production 12, 15, 22–3, 45, 177
 - distribution 14, 22–3, 50, 177
 - preparation 1–3, 6–9, 11–12, 18, 20, 22–6, 31–2, 59–61, 66, 68–70, 72–3, 75, 77–8, 83, 85–8, 90–91, 96–8, 101–5, 112, 117, 119, 125–8, 132, 136, 138–9, 143–4, 147–8, 150, 153–7, 163, 165–6, 168–71, 173, 175–6, 182
 - consumption 12–14, 18, 22–3, 26, 73, 76, 83
- formation processes 59, 76, 78, 80, 84, 86, 90, 99, 105, 118
- fortified settlement 3–4, 24–5, 34–41, 46–9, 51, 54, 57–8, 61–2, 73–4, 77–8, 80, 92–3, 99, 105, 109–13, 160, 178, 182
- fruit 21–22, 36, 86, 112, 127

fuel 23, 120–23, 125, 129

gates 3, 35–6, 44, 47–51, 150

gender archaeology 20, 30–31

gideon 143, 150, 156–65, 174–5, 180–82

goats 21, 65–7, 69, 72, 81, 94–5, 97, 121, 143, 145–6, 148, 152, 161, 174–5, 180

grain/cereal 21–23, 68, 70, 73, 82, 86, 100, 106–7, 111–13, 125, 127, 131–2, 134, 144, 147, 154–5, 172, 178–9, 208 n. 34

grinding (food prep) 23, 66, 71, 73, 134

implements/stones 76, 89, 91, 125, 134, 172

gruel 21, 67–8, 82, 97, 107, 111, 131–2, 135–6, 153, 172, 180

Halif, Tel 4–5, 17, 59–60, 62, 73, 77–92, 95, 97, 109, 112–13, 115, 177

hamlet 5, 38–40, 57, 111

haute cuisine 22, 165

hospitality 21, 139, 143, 145, 147, 150, 163–4, 175, 181–2

house/household

four-room house 15–16, 63, 94, 98, 104, 110

household archaeology 11–20, 22–6, 30–32, 59, 105, 119, 138, 177, 179, 182–3

iron age house 14–17

israelite house 14–17

pillared house 14–16, 87, 95

Isaac 140, 147–52

Jacob 148–56, 174–6, 180–82, 208 n. 36, n. 40

Jerusalem 5–6, 8, 25, 36, 39, 41, 43–4, 57, 61, 77, 92, 99

kosher dietary laws 1, 23, 138, 175, 180, 202 n. 60, 203 n. 2

Lachish, Tel 4–5, 59–78, 87, 89, 92, 95, 97, 109, 112, 114, 177

legumes 21, 82, 155, 178

meat 21, 23, 67, 73, 81, 106–7, 111–13, 124, 126, 130–36, 140, 145–6, 148, 153–4, 161–4, 175, 178–82

butchered 67, 107, 111, 130–31, 144, 146, 148, 162–3

blood 132–3, 175, 205 n. 60

braised/seared 133

broth 132–3, 162, 164

fresh 112, 133

raw 162

roasted 73, 107, 131, 133–4, 145, 148, 162, 175

stewed 107, 130–36, 162, 171–2, 175, 179–80, 182

milk 21, 111, 126–7, 131, 140–41, 145–8, 161, 175, 180–81, 207 n. 6

Nebuchadnezzar 62

olives, olive oil, oliveyards 22, 36, 38, 69, 97, 131

orchards 36, 38, 111

palace 2–3, 6, 34, 40, 46, 48, 50, 119, 136, 138, 150, 168–9, 174, 183

palace compound 169

pasture (land) 34, 36–7, 39–41, 51, 81
 patriarchal culture 158, 175, 182
 Philistine(s) 5–6, 21, 37, 39, 65–9, 77, 92, 94, 97–8, 103–16, 136, 152, 154, 172, 175, 178, 180–81, 201 n. 117, 203 n. 4
 phytoliths 87
 Pisgat Ze'ev 4–5, 59, 99–105, 109–10, 111, 116, 177
 processual archaeology 19, 27–8
 pork 22
 porridge 21, 67–8, 97, 111, 131–2, 134–6, 153–5, 172, 180
 post-processual archaeology 19, 28

 recipe 126–8, 131–5, 154–5, 177, 179, 204 n. 58
 Rebekah 148–53, 155
 representational art/iconography 6, 18, 26, 117–19, 125, 128, 132, 135–6, 179, 182
 rural settlement 3–6, 9, 11, 24–6, 31–2, 39–40, 42–6, 48–50, 54–9, 61, 93, 99, 104, 109–10, 113, 136, 138, 177–9, 181–2

 Samaria, Samerina 6, 24, 43, 49, 57
 Sarah 139–41, 144–51, 158
 Sennacherib 5, 62, 92
 settlement plans 48–49
 orthogonal 48–49
 peripheral 48–49
 radial 48–49
 sheep 21, 34, 39–40, 51, 65–9, 72, 81, 94–5, 97, 121, 130, 145–6, 161, 180
 Shoshenq 161
 siege 5, 35–6, 71, 73, 76, 79, 93, 112
 squatter phase 5, 78, 90, 92
 stable 15, 47, 66, 81, 95, 102, 123
 storage 15, 18, 23, 46, 50, 66, 68, 71, 73, 81 84–5, 87–8, 90–91, 95–9, 101–3
 bin/pit 82, 87
 storehouse/storeroom 46, 50, 66, 70–71, 84–5
 storage jar 65–72, 75, 81–2, 84, 89, 91, 95–7, 101–2, 105, 198 n. 32
 stamped royal storage jar (*Imk*) 70–72
 storage town 38
 Syro-Palestinian archaeology 3–4, 9, 11, 17, 23, 26, 28–31, 33–4, 42, 47–9, 53, 55–7, 132, 180, 182–3

 taboo foods 1, 21
 Tamar 143, 165–75, 180–82
 terraces 50, 93, 99
 threshing floor 157–60, 163–4
 Tiglath-Pileser III 5
 town 4, 33–57, 77, 145, 159

 unfortified settlement 4–5, 36–40, 47, 57–8, 78, 92–3, 187 n. 2

 vegetables 22, 86, 106–7, 111–13, 132–3, 136, 154, 178–9
 village 4, 25, 34, 36–47, 50–57, 92, 103, 110–11, 118–24, 129–31, 143–5, 154, 194 n. 16, 205 n. 32
 agglomerated 44–46, 50, 52
 ring-shaped 44, 46, 50, 52, 92
 unwalled settlement 37, 39, 43, 51–2, 56–7

wild game [21](#), [131](#), [134](#), [136](#)

wine [1](#), [22](#), [36](#), [102](#), [105](#), [142](#), [161](#)

wine press [93](#), [99](#), [102](#), [105](#), [156](#), [159](#), [160](#)

vineyards [36](#), [38](#)

zooarchaeology [31](#), [59](#), [145](#)